FREE WORLD

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

JANUARY,

WORDS, POST-ATOMIC

So yet man walks upon the earth
Intransigent of heart, and free
Beholds the miracle of birth
And wonders what it is to be

And turns with cold hands to the fire
And stills the beast within his head,
And feels the warming of desire
And looks, and longs, and finds his bed.

And everywhere his grave heart stirred
By what is said and what unspoken,
The halting and the affluent word
The voices whole, the promise broken.

Constrained by plundering and pleasure
Of men like hawks, of girls like plover
He cries aloud, and finds no measure—
Yet holds that life cannot be over.

His world, implausible and bright,
Illusion fateful and so full—
How will he sleep an endless night
Entombed from sun and the moon's pull

And the memory of evening coming down
Vast, over mountains that he knows,
The hush within the unwalled town
The whisper in the after-glows,

How will he sleep, until he learn
That all his strife with faith and reason
Removes him from the blinding turn
Of insects, stirring in their season.

Man, this knife before your breast
Of love or hate, this subtle choice,
Compels you to the final test—
Or else the silence of your voice.

—Stanley Young

050 v.11-12
1946

ON
WORLD
GOVERNMEN
HERBERT EVATT
NORMAN ANG

BERTRAND RUS
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VANSITTART
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25
OTHER FEATUR
AND PICTURE
ARTICLES

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FREE WORLD JANUARY, 1946

VOLUME 11, No. 1

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THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

Between January and June, the United Nations Organization will appoint most of the staff that will serve the new world organization. High officials, experts, research personnel, publicity people and a vast technical staff of secretaries reaching the tens of thousands will be nominated for various functions within the international Secretariat.

The democratic character of the organization and its efficiency in preventing war will depend to a great extent on the men and women who will compose the general staff of the UNO. For it will be they who will create, to a considerable degree, the political and moral climate of the organization. It will be they who will be entrusted with the preparation of reports on human rights and trusteeship, on economic and housing conditions, on health and freedom of travel, on scientific and intellectual cooperation.

FREE WORLD believes that these must be the essential qualifications of any members of the international Secretariat:

1. Absolute loyalty toward the world organization.

2. Belief in and understanding of the one-ness of the world.

3. Knowledge of and respect for all peoples without distinction of race, color and creed.

4. Highest technical qualifications for whatever field the respective candidate of the Secretariat applies.

5. Adequate preparatory training in international cooperation.

As far as this last point is concerned, FREE WORLD believes that men and women who have been active in various organizations devoted to international cooperation deserve special attention.

FREE WORLD will send a special representative to United Nations headquarters whose main task will be to study the various jobs that will be open, and to contribute as much as possible to the establishment of a truly democratic Secretariat.

The Editors

P. S.: Suggestions and ideas on this subject by our readers will be most welcome.

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FREE WORLD

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

PUBLISHED IN EIGHT EDITIONS: American, Mexican, French, Chilean, Chinese, Greek, Puerto Rican, Uruguayan.

IN PREPARATION: Russian, Swedish, Czechoslovakian, Italian, Arabic, British Editions.

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OUR DAILY BREAD . . .

For these hungry French youngsters the "staff of life" still has the halo of a miracle. Unfortunately, after only six weeks of unrationed bread, France is threatened with a new shortage. While a great part of the world is facing the most severe famine, the specter of the destruction of food in more fortunate countries already looms on the horizon. For not so long ago . . . (see following pages).

Phot. Papillon—Rapho-Guillemette

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. . . Nature's lavishness seemed to turn into a curse. The unbelievable happened. While parts of the world were waiting with outstretched hands for such blessings—Brazil destroyed millions of pounds of coffee because short-sighted governments thought that surplus threatened economic balances. *Phot. Martin Munkacsi*

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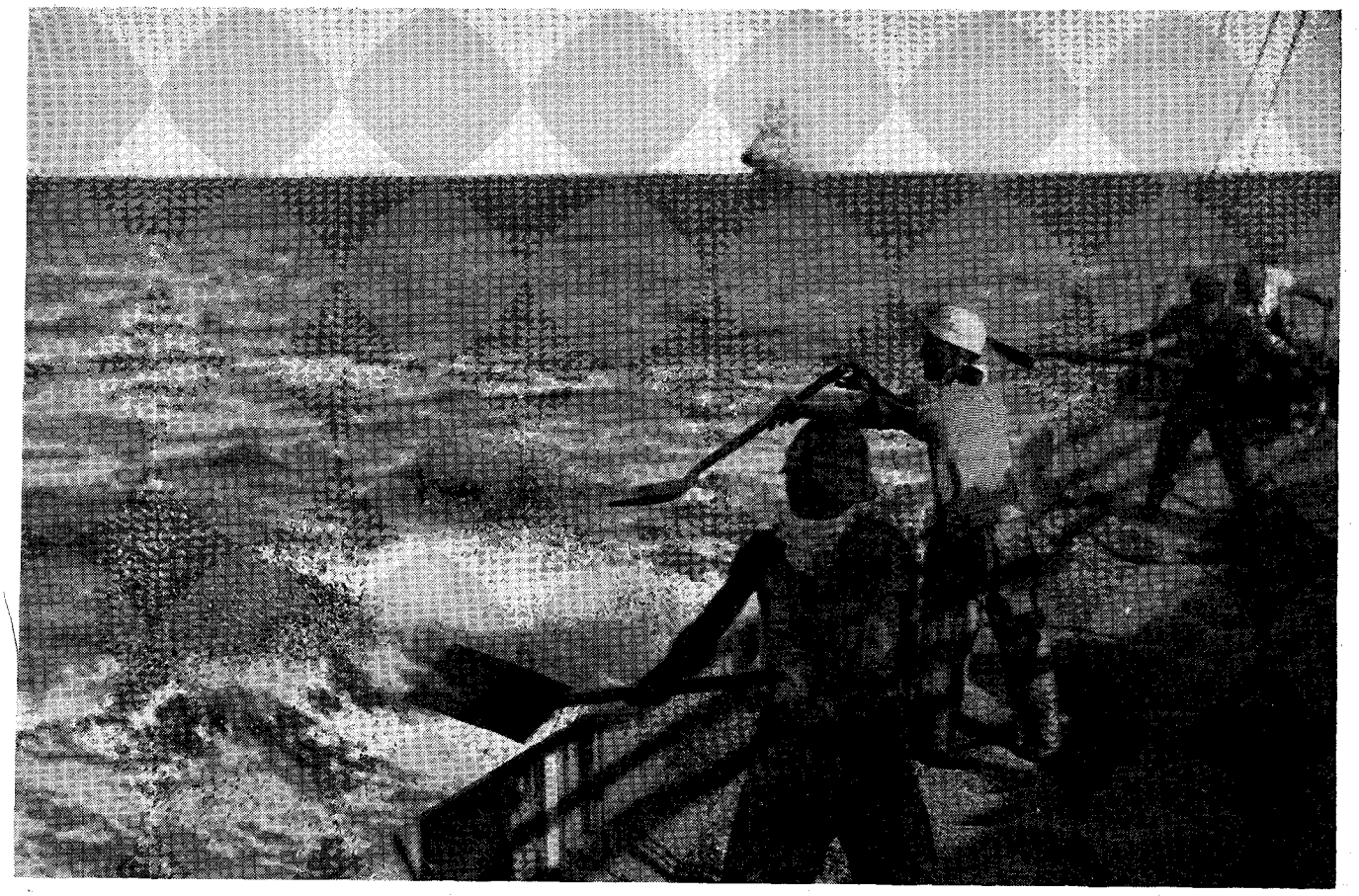

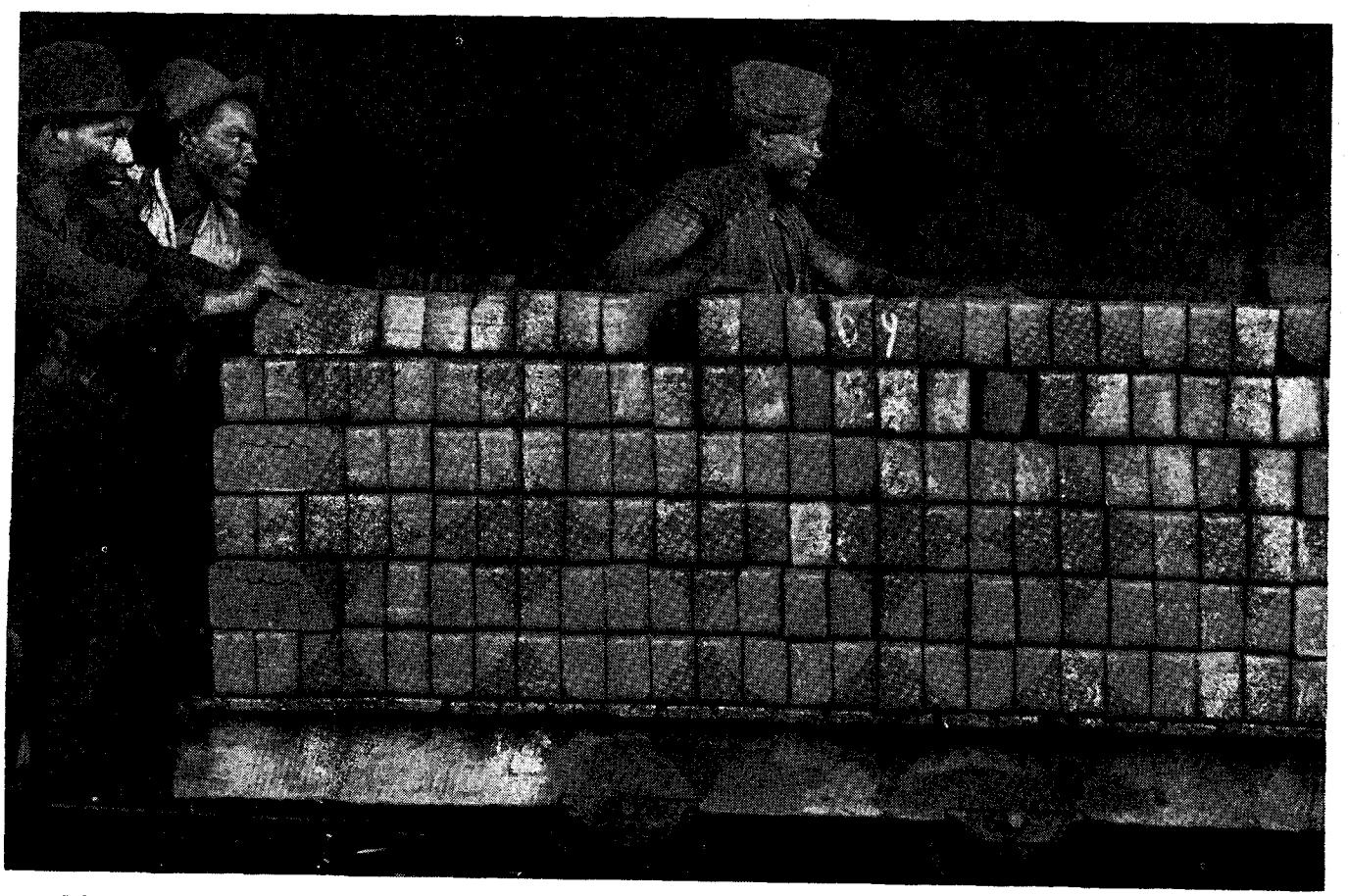

The reduction of food surplus by destruction was a serious problem. Brazil dumped coffee into the ocean, burned coffee bricks as fuel. Such practices, although not unknown in prewar years, were carefully kept secret. When, about ten years ago, one of America's best photo reporters, Martin Munkacsi, succeeded in getting these remarkable pictures, the world was duly shocked—but did nothing about it.

We print these pictures with the warning: Let it never happen again!

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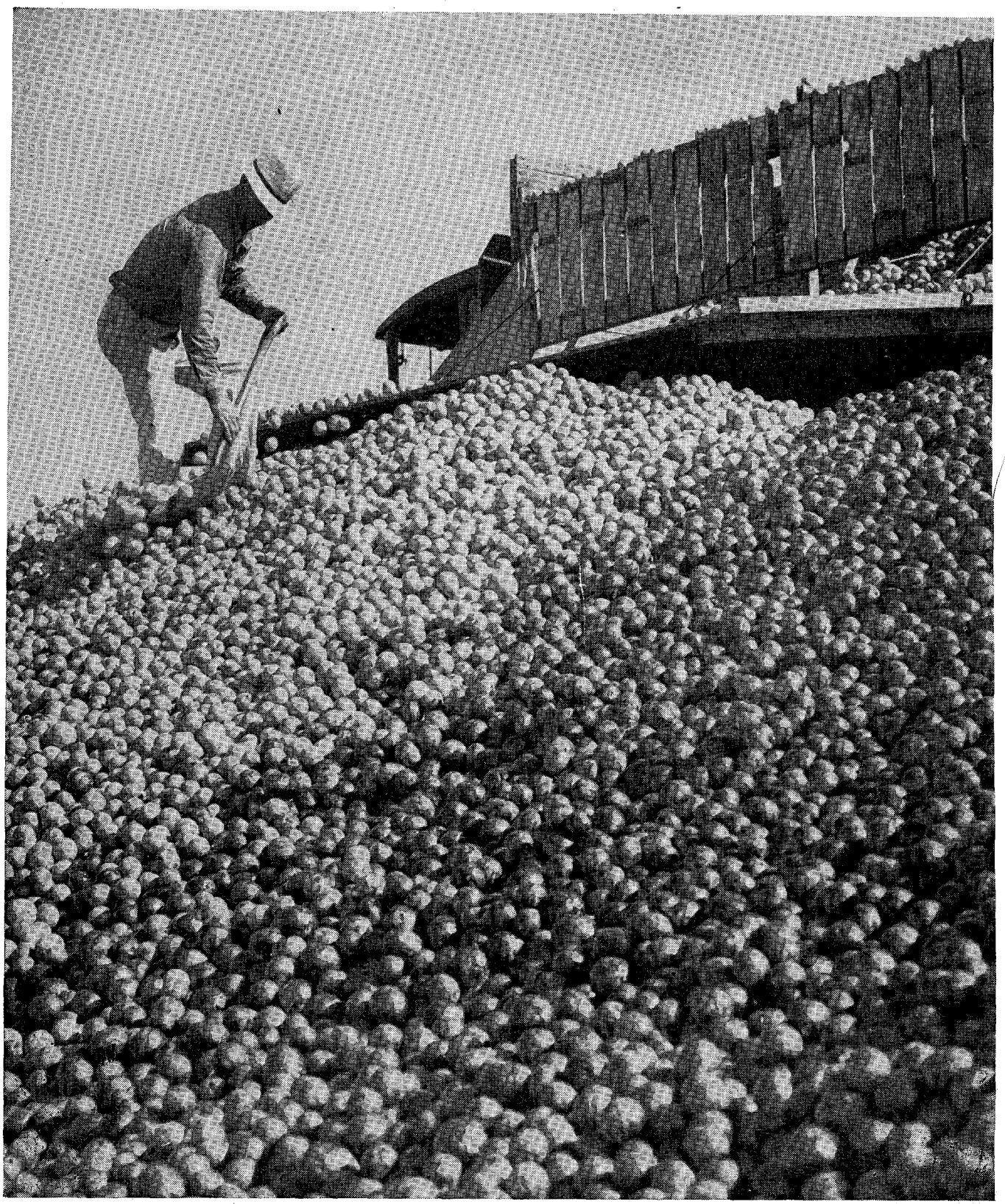

We in the U. S. are not without blame. To balance prices and supply, wanton destruction of food was the accepted practice—until the better solution of organized distribution among those who couldn't afford to buy at standard prices was developed. Here a citrus grower shovels millions of oranges on a dump (1938).

In the same way corn, wheat, cotton, other goods were destroyed—not only here—all over the world.

One of the main concerns of the UNO will be to distribute food supplies all over the world in such a way that plentiful crops in one part of the world will benefit needy people in other less blessed parts of the globe. Mankind has solved much more complicated problems than reasonably well-balanced distribution of food without wanton destruction.

Phot. ACME

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ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST ASSEMBLY

An Editorial by MICHAEL STRAIGHT

I

THE First Assembly of the UNO is about to open. In its sessions every effort and sacrifice of its thousand million citizens, will be summed up; every hope will be placed on trial, to be sustained or condemned.

No organization as untried and as all-important should undergo so decisive a test in its earlier hour. The struggles among its protagonists should have been resolved where they imperil its future; its limits of disagreement should have been agreed upon; and its growth through common action, if not directed, then at least assured.

The First Assembly opens instead at a time when few problems have been resolved, when civil war rages, when breakdown is the cost of delay. The tasks before the Assembly are great enough to demand world government. Are they too great for the UNO?

We respect history. But if, in complacence, men assert today that just as in American history the weakness and subsequent failure of the Articles of Confederation once led to the Constitution and the Government of the United States, so today the weakness and failure of the UNO will lead to world government, we reply that they are historically misinformed and politically misled. World government, if it comes in peace, will come through the strengthening of the UNO. If the UNO fails, then not world government but world anarchy and world war may follow.

II

YET there is a growing conviction throughout the world that UNO possesses neither the present authority nor the power of growth necessary for the maintenance of peace.

If the First Assembly acts in a spirit of awareness that it is the civil service of humanity, dedicated to the creation of a new world order then it will command the faith of all men. If it becomes an arena in which rival delegations form centers of conspiracy and struggle for competitive advantage then faith will ebb from it and the genius of its vision may be lost.

The first task of the Assembly is organization. In establishing the UNO the purpose of the Assembly may be to surround it with limitations and controls, or, by broad and clear directives, to develop its authority. In creating the Secretariat, each nation may insist on loading it with unemployed diplomats and foreign office careerists whose intentions in accepting high positions will be to use them to further their own narrow ends; or the staff may be chosen by standards of competence and loyalty to the UNO to the extent of an oath of exclusive allegiance to it.

If there is no will to strengthen the UNO the problem of organization can become insuperable; if the will exists the framework will be swiftly raised, and the Assembly freed to turn to the major issues before the world.

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III

THE great issue before the Assembly is the control of atomic energy. Its great task is the creation of an atomic energy commission, to prevent war now, by preventing an atomic arms race, to ensure peace later by ensuring the use of atomic energy to raise standards of life and health.

> The main functions of the commission are these: To provide the widest exchange of scientific knowledge. To control the production of atomic energy. To bring about disarmament in atomic weapons, and all aggressive weapons.
>
> To protect its supporters by enforcing its provisions.

There is no essential difference between atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. For this reason the authority of the commission should extend beyond atomic weapons to all the armory of aggression. And because these weapons are so decisive, the authority of the commission, however broad in scope, rests entirely on its powers of enforcement. If atomic energy is widely used then these powers must be great. If they cannot be great then the first stage may be the prohibition of all production of atomic energy and the enforcement of this prohibition by inspection. No large plant can be closed to the inspecting force, and every citizen must be held legally responsible to it. The ratification by nations of the charter of the commission should provide that a man who informs it of violations by his own country will be protected, and a man who fails in his duty, tried as a criminal before his own people.

Once weapons are made and hidden they cannot be found. Once an arms race starts, it may be hard to stop. Only ratification and the establishment of the commission should remain when the First Assembly is over.

IV

THE greatest enemy of the First Assembly is *fear*.

The United Nations live in fear of each other. Britain and America fear Soviet intentions. The fear is reciprocated. It extends to all peoples.

The United Nations fear a strong UNO. There is, in the democracies a growing demand for the strengthening of the Charter. There has been, in the Soviet Union a growing resistance to any reconsideration, particularly of the veto power. This division may gravely weaken the UNO.

But it is not the Soviet Government that fears a UNO strong in deeds rather than in words. America fears the loss of independence to an organization that she does not control. Britain supports a strong world government in principle, and in practice arrogates to herself the right to restore and maintain by force an outworn colonial system, no more responsible to the UNO, according to Lord Hailey, than it was once to the League of Nations. The Soviet Government holds fast to the doctrine that capitalist democracy will go down in violence and aggression in which the symbol of a strong world government might give an almost holy aspect to an otherwise insupportable war. And some small nations fear strength in world organization because they prefer the fiction of disproportionate representation in an assembly without power, to the reality of a proportionate voice in a representative assembly to which authority could be properly given.

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We are prisoners of fear; in this alone, there is reason to fear. In time too short to measure, one atomic bomb transformed a hundred thousand people into the infinitesmal particles of a white and billowing cloud that rose and vanished. America has perhaps hundreds of such bombs; she is continuing to produce them; she is able, without exertion, to produce ten thousand within fifteen years. A dozen other nations are striving toward the same objective.

No nation is free from fear. Only by the transfer of sovereignty can war be prevented. In every nation this transfer is resisted, as it must be, by powerful interests whose only function is the winning of wars. No nation has determined whether its main purpose is to win the next war or to prevent war. So long as nations, in indecision, hold onto the means of destroying each other, there must be fear.

"You fear too far." The Duke of Albany said to Goneril. "Safer than to trust too far." Goneril retorted, and so established the standard by which we live. She did not live for long.

V

AN extraordinary opportunity has been given to the First Assembly. Yet its power is a reflected power. Once the assumption spreads, that with the creation of the UNO the responsibility for peace passes from the United Nations, then the UNO and peace are endangered.

We suggest that in order to create the basis of trust necessary for the UNO, the United Nations undertake:

To stop producing atomic bombs.

To produce no weapons of mass destruction, and no atomic energy until adequate world controls can be established.

To demonstrate their good faith by offering voluntary inspection systems until a UNO inspection force is created.

We suggest that in order to create the conditions of trust the United Nations further undertake:

To declare that their main purpose, as nations, is to prevent war.

To assert that socialism and capitalist democracy can live side by side in peace.

To advance this assertion by education, by encouraging the interchange of peoples, by discouraging campaigns of hatred against one another, and by the creation through trade, of substantial stakes in each others' welfare.

We suggest that in order to strengthen the UNO now, before drastic changes can be made in its framework, the United Nations undertake:

To give binding force, by national legislation, to the recommendations of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, The Trusteeship Council and other agencies of the UNO.

To compel, by national legislation, the reference to the World Court of all disputes, and the acceptance of the Court's findings.

To renounce as soon as possible, the use of the veto power.

In these ways the United Nations may give added authority to the organization they have brought into being. If the action is left to the UNO alone it will be necessary for all of the United Nations, and the UNO to move forward at exactly the same speed—the speed of the slowest member. It is not necessary, and this is not the time to wait. By giving leadership now, nations which have the power will gain the glory.

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PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE

roads to world government

NORMAN ANGELL

WE ought by this time to know something of the obstacles and difficulties of making even a beginning with that world government which has suddenly become the only alternative to atomic extinction. The League of Nations did not ask very much in the way of obligation from its constituent members. But it was too much for the nationalism of the most prosperous and most educated people in the world—the people of the United States—who, though at first favorable, refused finally even to make the attempt, notwithstanding that the proposal to make the experiment had in the first instance come from their government. The decision not to have anything to do with the League was not in any case a mere sudden flash, for there followed two decades of isolationist decisions and legislation—refusal to join the World Court, refusal even to consider the guaranties for which France had been asking; passage of the Neutrality and Johnson Acts, and many more evidences of an ironclad isolationism.

It is important to recall something of all this because, unless we do, we may be altogether too impatient with a somewhat similar isolationism on the part of Russia today. If the American people, which had enjoyed three centuries of Parliamentary self-government, the habit of free political debate, a free press, open criticism of government, completely free contacts with the outside world, could nevertheless in the year of grace 1920 utterly reject the principle of international obligation, we have little right for anger if Russia, with a far less happy background and experience, shows similar hesitations a mere quarter of a century later.

When the failure of the League became visible a great many began to argue that the constitutional principle underlying it was all wrong; that agreement between a number of nations to defend the victim of aggression implied an agreement between separate governments to go to war and did not constitute the beginnings of a world government at all. It was only an alliance of governments; a world government should exercise its authority, ran the argument, not by the control of national governments but by control of individuals accepting the authority of the world government; that world law, in order to be effective, must aim at the control of persons, men and women, not governments, the coercion of which, as distinct from the coercion of individuals, would simply mean war. The argument throughout was based, of course, largely upon the experience of the United States and was an argument which had been thoroughly debated by the men who framed the United States Constitution.

Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, carried the suggestion of making the world organization more than an agreement between governments further than it has yet been carried by official statements when he said, in November, that the British Government was ready to merge a portion of its sovereignty into a directly elected world assembly, responsible for a "world" law instead of an international law.

* * *

LET it be said at once that if we were discussing the ultimate principles of government, the ideal at which to aim, the federal principle in some form or other is undoubtedly the right one. But the logically best ultimate principle of government is not the question before us. The question before us is where we are to begin, how we are to persuade a race of human beings deeply obsessed by nationalist emotions, suspicions, animosities, xenophobias to start the journey at all. The League was not rejected by the American people in 1920 because they wanted world government in a federal form,

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but because, like most of the world, they were nationalist and isolationist. It was not a passion for World Federation that Wilson had to overcome, but a nationalist passion. Lodge and Reed, who managed to defeat Wilson, did not urge as the alternative to his proposals a world Federal Government with a Congress dominated numerically—as it would have to have been—by foreign, particularly Asiatic, peoples who so vastly outnumber Americans; what they urged was that America should have nothing to do with the unending quarrels of Europe, should keep out of the whole thing and depend upon American might for American security. That is still the main obstacle, and the Federation versus League discussion is largely irrelevant and confusing.

Even if there had been any considerable party urging federation it is quite certain that it would have shared the fate of the very great numbers who in 1917-18 favored the League. For there is one feature of League history in America we should particularly note: In 1918 both major parties stood in favor of the League and all the indications are that the majority of the American people then, for the time being, favored it. They saw in it an attempt to do the right thing, to achieve great and humane ideals. They followed this impulse to do the right thing without due regard perhaps to what the realization of the ideal would ask of them, particularly in the way of some surrender of American independence, of sovereignty, by commitment to action which would be in part determined by foreigners. Because this cost had been inadequately faced, it came as a shock when the Lodges and Reeds and Johnsons presented it in its most frightening colors. A revulsion of feeling set in against the League proposal, aided by growing preoccupation with domestic issues. The much heavier commitments of a world Federal Government, even if at first accepted, would not have been more fortunate. Nor can we quite forget—nor should we—that when, once more on America's initiative, the world assembled at San Francisco the Charter which resulted did not come any nearer to the federal pattern than the Covenant of the League had come: in many respects it failed to come as near.

* * *

IF a World Federalist Party had existed in Wilson's time, the practical question it would have had to face is the practical question such a party has to face today: whether or not to support policies which may fall far short of the federal ideal but which may have the effect of averting threatened war. To put it more concretely, should they have supported the League, or, failing that, the plan of lesser scope represented by the Tripartite Treaty of Guaranties which Wilson also urged America to ratify.

This last is an incident of that period which has been referred to in this column before, but of which we continually need to be reminded because it represents the touchstone of the matter under debate. Clemenceau and his colleagues had urged the United States and Britain to say, in treaty form, that if Germany again attacked France the English-speaking nations would defend France. Clemenceau's argument was that if Germany were left in doubt as to whether such aid would be forthcoming, she would be tempted to take the risk of still another attack on France and in that case Britain and the United States would have to fight anyway. Their risks would obviously be reduced by giving the guaranty. Both Wilson and Lloyd George were thoroughly convinced, provisionally agreed to the Treaty, but failed utterly to convince their peoples, who refused ratification.

It is true that this would have been a military alliance between governments, a partial one at that, in conflict not merely with the Federalist ideal but with a whole host of arguments familiar in Britain and America to the general effect that military alliances always end in war.

About this last argument we can now say, not as a matter of argument or logic or speculation, but in the light of the demonstration of dreadful and tragic events, that without this treaty between the three governments war came upon us. The argument that such an alliance might lead to war has been proven invalid or irrelevant, because without it we got war. The result could not have been any worse than what has actually taken place. And it might have been better. Indeed, all the evidence we now have, including the memoranda of Hitler, revealed last month in the Nuremberg Trials, wherein he makes the assumption that the British and American democracies had become too degenerate to fight, would seem to show that the chances of peace would have been enormously increased if the guaranties asked by France had been given. Incidentally, the incident has some bearing on the assumption, so often made just now, that common action between Britain and the United States is to be deprecated because such a bloc tends to create misgiving in the minds of other governments

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and to provoke counter-blocs. The France of Clemenceau had no such misgiving, since it ardently advocated and would have warmly welcomed an Anglo-American bloc as a guarantor of French security. There were no other powers in the world at that time whose guaranty would have been sufficient to deter Germany; and it would have had to be a joint undertaking of both English-speaking nations, since if one held out the other would be unable effectively to implement the treaty.

* * *

THERE is a tendency just now—illustrated by a debate which has been going on between Major Fielding Eliot and Mr. Walter Lippmann—to regard a world government and UNO as mutually exclusive and to assume that there is no means by which the latter can evolve into the former. Properly to control atomic energy, argues Mr. Lippmann, individuals living under national authority must be brought under the supra-national sovereignty. Major Fielding Eliot argues that this means a super-state and that, in the present conditions of nationalist emotion, such a plan is not feasible.

But the approach could surely be made in a way which would enable the UNO to develop toward world government. Properly to control atomic energy, it will be necessary to bring factories, laboratories, factory owners, managers and scientists within the scope of certain laws, with due punishment for infringement. Let the members of the UNO agree upon such a law; and then let each nation embody it in its national code and enforce it on its own citizens. Add to that parallel national legislation on international commission of distinguished scientists with the power, as Captain Stassen has suggested, "thoroughly to inspect all nations, including our own." Major Fielding Eliot agrees that this can be achieved through the machinery of the United Nations Organization. Is there no chance here that UNO processes can lead the way to world government properly so described?

* * *

IT remains true, of course, that the real question is whether men can learn to see their interest through the gales and mists of nationalist passion. Whether we are to blow each other to pieces by reciprocal atomic bombing will depend in the last analysis, not upon the blueprints of world government which we may draw up, but upon the character and temper of the minds of men who hold power. If we are to inject into future international discussions the temper which has marked, for instance, doctrinal differences in the field of religion in the past, the religious wars of the sixteenth century, the Holy Wars of Mohammedanism, or even the temper which marks the conflict of Hindu and Moslem in India (which, whether certain ardent idealists believe it or not, was not invented by Great Britain), or the conflict between Communist and Kuomintang in China, or Arab and Zionist in Palestine, or the Negro and the White in the South—so long as these tempers are retained, we shall get the old results. Those conflicts were not, or are not, in any proper sense conflicts of material interest, because the interest of all parties would usually be advanced immensely by avoiding physical conflict. They are not to be solved by saying that every nation must be independent and be given what their people want. What does "China" want when there are two Chinas? What did "America" want in 1861, when the Confederate States fought for what they believed to be their right to independence? What does "Ireland" want when Protestant Belfast demands its independence of the Catholic South, which is passionately convinced that it has a right to compel the union with it of the Protestant North; or when the I.R.A. still carries on an intermittent guerrilla war against Mr. De Valera's government and is prepared for the purpose of embarrassing that government to throw bombs in English railroad stations, killing civilians? (Tomorrow they will be atomic bombs, capable of virtually wiping England from the face of the earth.) Independence for Argentina has not solved the problem of freedom for the people. The end of the Spanish Empire did not bring democracy to Spain. The end of the Roman Empire did not bring peace to the Europe which under that Empire had at least been without war for a longer period than it has ever had since.

It is useful to take a glance at that human experience, because, if the armed conflicts which include, of course, the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary and counter-counter-revolutionary conflicts which have for so long marked the history of the greater part of the New World south of the Mexican border, and are marking the history of China today and are latent in Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Palestine —if this kind of conflict is to continue indefinitely and the weapons of the future are to be of the atomic order, then H. G. Wells is right, and the animal man may quite conceivably disappear from the face of the earth.

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POLITICS IN ITALY

by MAX ASCOLI

This is the first of a series of two eye-witness reports by Dr. Max Ascoli. The next article will deal with the role of the Allies in Italy.

ITALY has been under fascism for twenty-two years, which is about the span of a generation. It is difficult to realize what this means until one sees to what an extent the country has been disfigured. It has been disfigured by what fascism has built and by what war has destroyed, by the bombastic ugliness of the new monuments and by the concentrated, methodical fury of German and Allied destruction. The new buildings and squares are lavish displays of real Carrara marble, and they have cost real work and real money to the people of Italy. Yet, they look unreal, as if they had been made of plaster or of the same shapeless material of rubble and ruins that one sees all over the country. There are many ruins. The final reckoning of the imperial rezoning program has been five million homeless Italians.

The incongruous blend of fascism and war seems to be everywhere. One can see it in the way the people look. Some years ago fascism launched a war on men's collars and ties and coats. Fascism launched one war after another during twenty-two years. Ties were bourgeois things, stigmas of democratic plutocracy and only black shirts, open at the neck were fitting attire for a race of empire builders. Now the blackshirts have gone into the making of rags, and the shabbiness of universal destitution has come to stay. The sunken cheeks so characteristic of a type of Italian have never been as pinched as they are today.

All over you see signs of the same thing: of what fascism had inflated and the war has deflated, of what fascism had senselessly done and the war has mercilessly undone. Both the inflation and the deflation have gone too far. You can see that in the people who look haggard and angry as men always do who have been led to do great harm to themselves.

Germany suffered an attack of suicidal frenzy and had to be finished off. Italy's case was different, from the beginning—light-hearted foolishness rather than folly. Yet, one has to see the country to realize how close Italy came to the edge of irreparable ruin.

WHAT nearly finished Italy off came as a result of the unconditional surrender. In its entire breadth, from sea to sea, the whole peninsula was cut by one line of battle after another. The Italian cities, practically without exception, became routine targets of Allied and German bombing. The Germans learned to know the land so well, and acquired such a detailed knowledge of every sinew of its communication system that they were able to blow up without exception, all bridges, railroad tunnels or highway intersections, in the whole length of the country from the tip of Calabria to the Alps.

In 1943, during the six weeks between Mussolini's fall on July 25th and the unconditional surrender of the country to the Allies on September 8th, every anti-fascist who was in Italy came out in the open. The survivors of twenty-two years of fascist oppression, the veterans of jail and penal islands, the silent resisters—all these men were busy trying to rally the people when, soon after September 8th, the Germans closed in for the kill. In some cities, Ferrara, for instance, all the anti-fascist leaders were murdered.

Yet, it was during the German occupation and because of it that the Italians found themselves. They had slipped gradually into fascism and had lived under it for over twenty years. But this time when fascism reappeared, underlined and doubled by the German occupation, the Italians were not caught unprepared. The first time fascism had come, no one in the country—neither the people nor their leaders—knew what fascism was and what it could do. The outside world knew even less. The Italians this time knew where to look for leadership and what to do. Their homes were already wrecked but the people made of the German occupation their second chance.

The resistance in Italy was the national atonement. Anti-fascism had been the risky game of brave and stubborn men who had isolated themselves from their countrymen. The resistance found the veterans of anti-fascism at the head of their fellow citizens.

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Men, who had been cut off from their countrymen by fascist persecution and by their own virtue, fought and worked side by side with army officers, former fascists, and plain citizens who for two decades had accepted fascism and had grudgingly or merrily gone along with it.

There could be no ballot, convention or democratic procedure for the selection of the new leadership either in local committees of liberation or in the country as a whole. The selection was made only according to the capacity for running risks and taking initiative. How many people knew Ferrucio Parri in Milan? Yet, Parri, under an assumed name became the leader. At long last, the veterans of anti-fascism, that core of hard and long-suffering men, became a leavening for the nation.

The resistance in Italy was total: it was in all classes of the population—among peasants, farmers, industrial workers, intellectuals and priests. Collaboration with the Germans or with the wretched fascist puppet government was considered a crime for which the penalty was set and the execution merely suspended.

There were industrialists in the North who paid their workers to go on anti-fascist strikes or commit acts of sabotage. The agents for the financing of the resistance were the two great commercial banks. In Rome, the most accomplished forger of identification papers and ration cards was a Monsignore. In the same city, two thousand British soldiers who had escaped from prison camps were hidden by the people for months.

Even now, when one talks to Italians of the German occupation, one hears the same comment over and over again: "It was horrible but I am glad that I went through it." They had lived so long on lies and rhetoric and had come to accept them as a matter of course. But during the German occupation, the goal was simple and real, just as real as were the risks that people ran in doing very specific things: hiding a Jew, distributing literature, watching for spies. In Italy today one hears frequently of the partisan movement—the movement of those who took up arms and fought. But the expression "resistance movement" is not used often. During the months of the German occupation, the whole nation resisted.

Could the people, during twenty months of resistance, undo the harm they had allowed or done to themselves during twenty years of fascism? Could they emerge from the ordeal, starved and battered as they were, as fellows in arms of the Allied soldiers? They had something to show the Allies who were trudging their way across the peninsula. They could show what they had done to help in the liberation of their own cities. They could show their new leadership, which during the occupation had organized every town and leavened the will to live of the Italian people.

* * *

THE test of the open air has been the hardest one all over Europe for the leadership of the underground movements emerging in victory at the moment of liberation. The emphasis immediately shifted from resistance to administration, from disciplined unity among men of good will to partisanship. Freedom makes little sense unless as soon as it has conquered, it brings open competitive partisanship. There had been small political bickerings in Italy as long as the struggle went on. But in every city and in every region gradually emerging into freedom, liberation meant, and had to mean, return to politics.

It was a difficult return for a country which, over a period of a generation, had largely forgotten the habits and the instruments of democratic, competitive politics. The anti-fascist leadership had been more than adequate in its function as long as what was demanded of it was quickness of decision and fearlessness. But after the liberation, that was not enough. These men also had to prove that they knew how to bring in food to starved people in spite of practically non-existent means of transportation, how to edit and write a newspaper so as to give the public—whose taste had been debauched by rhetoric—the sense of facts and news. There were thousands of jobs to be done right away and each one of them demanded very specific skills.

It must be said to the credit of the anti-fascist leaders that on the whole they showed considerable wisdom in the way they tackled their tasks. For, after twenty years of fascism and with the political institutions destroyed, there were not many traditions or rules of the political game on which they could fall back. Yet, with the scanty material available the country had to be given some sort of political framework that could offer some guarantee of unity and some room for differences.

The political framework was worked out in Bari in January 1944, shortly after the liberation of the country began, and it was centered

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on the six-party coalition. The six parties were to make up the national committee of liberation, and later on, the national government. The same formula was to be applied on regional and local bases all over the country, both in the free and the large occupied parts of Italy.

Each of the six parties agreed to consider the other five as equal in power and authority until the moment each party could receive its own share of popular endorsement in national elections. Actually each party consiste of a group of candidates to the people's tru t who had to make themselves known so as to be judged on their words and their actions.

In itself, each one of the six parties was a flimsy thing. Two of them, the Christian democrats and the Communists could rely on a certain amount of potential or real mass support because of the cellular organization of the Church and of the Communist party. But essentially, each one of them was a committee for the promotion of something that, with the help of time and good luck, could become a nation-wide political party. With different gradations and shades, each one of them was a mixture of anti-fascist leadership with rank and file new adherents. The danger was and still is that the blend would become a very weak dilution.

On the whole, the Bari or six-party formula proved to be workable during the twenty months the country was being liberated. It allowed the leaders who emerged in each town and region that was gradually freed to maintain some of the authority they had gained and to offer their services to the people. It eased the gradual reabsorption of local political groups into a nationwide organization, by offering them as integrating links one national structure and six alternative political outlets. Above all, it maintained political diversity with a fair amount of unity in a country which for a generation had not had a chance to know what freedom meant.

• • •

THE severest test of the six-party coalition began when in May 1945 the whole country was finally freed. The veterans of the underground, of exile and of jail had succeeded in uniting their fellow citizens, town by town, region by region, without being known to them in any other way than through their legendary names and their legendary deeds. Now they had to do it over again on a national scale.

A handful of men working in exile at one time may be enough to save the honor of a nation. Some thousand underground workers can, as it happened in Italy, leaven a nation's will to survive, but party politics, on a nationwide scale, coupled with national and local administration, demands an extraordinarily large number of political and administrative workers endowed with specific skills and attitudes.

Moreover, the structure of the six-party coalition was unsteady and built with makeshift materials. Rather than a permanent structure, it was a scaffold covering a facade that had crumbled down—the facade of the Italian political and administrative structure.

The six-party coalition was exposed to three main dangers. The first danger was of bitter strife among the various members of the coalition. The second was of the conflict of ideologies and personalities within each party. The third was of the drive for membership that each party engaged in so as to become something more like a party rather than a committee for the promotion of a party.

In each of the six parties, mixed elements entered that had little training in democracy and less propensity to abide by the democratic rules of the political game. Quite frequently it happened that affiliation was decided according to the opening it could offer to the various jobs and positions allotted to each party. Sometimes, it also happened that people, to avoid taking chances, tried to enter into several parties at once or distributed party affiliations among members of the same family.

All these are far from being new things in democracy. At present in Italy, everything political has a peculiarly experimental pedagogical character. In these organizations, conventionally called political parties, people are gaining the elementary rudiments of democratic partisanship just as the so-called government in Italy is at the same time an institute for the training of administrators and statesmen. In the consultative assembly that met recently in Rome, many earnest young consultants got their first chance to acquaint themselves with the rules of parliamentary procedure. Even though it is overcrowded for the moment, the Italian press is providing a number of Italian potential newsmen and political writers with experience in news gathering and formulating editorial opinion. For twenty years, there was no demand for such skills; those who tried to practice them were exposed to persecution.

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STATESMEN, public administrators, party leaders and party workers, newspaper editors and guides of public opinion—the anti-fascists who emerged as leaders from the liberation have to be all these things and many more. They have to maintain the prestige they acquired under entirely different circumstances and at the same time defend their candidacy to the constitutional leadership of Italy for the time when Italy will be able to give itself a constitution. These men have only a small margin for error because the people are desperately exhausted and want immediate results now that the war is over. Moreover, they who are at the same time leaders, candidates to leadership and students in leadership, have emerged from the struggle against the Germans with tired bodies and worn-out nerves.

All the best men that Italy has produced in the struggle for democracy during this last generation and that fascism has somehow spared, all the men who proved their worth leading the struggle of the resistance are extremely vulnerable because they are trying at the same time to administer and to learn administration. There are no reserves left. Many a brilliant intellectual, called to the function of government in the wrecked country has become rapidly groggy with fatigue. Certainly there are not enough of them for the work that has to be done. Neither do they possess all the knowledge, the experience or the skill that the work demands, nor does anybody else since for a whole generation the fascists had a complete monopoly on public life and political administration.

The attack against the new leaders in the press and in a wildly sweeping, whispering campaign has lately reached ominous proportions. Some leaders of the pre-fascist era tried to make political capital of their longevity. Slogans are circulated and go around fast: that after all the people under fascism were better off; that Mussolini and his gang were self-appointed but so is Parri and all of his friends . . . ; that the Italians after all are trained to be ruled and that it is high time to stop all the nonsense of political partisanship and committees of national liberation.

The cry seems to be: back to normalcy. The aim is unmistakable. The anti-fascists who have outgrown the *anti;* the purely negative attitude of the opposition to fascism by assuming the leadership of their communities are not to be allowed to gain an experience which might make them national figures. In fact, the aim seems to be that of destroying the legacy of the resistance by discrediting the men it produced and smashing the committees of national liberation which are its organs. The people are terribly tired and confused, and this might be the right moment for depriving them of their achievement in the resistance where they found their second chance.

The attack is conducted with increasing violence because those who guide it know that they have very little time. In spite of their initial inexperience, actually several resistance leaders are growing with their jobs and proving that they have the making of statesmen. This is not the monopoly of any party, and the fact is unmistakable: new men are emerging on the national and on the regional scene whose names were entirely unknown a few months ago. For those who want these men destroyed, the time is now; now, while the people are going through the severest winter, and are unhappy and dissatisfied because they did their share in finishing the war and are not given peace. This is also the time before the first elections in twenty-five years, when rumors and fake movements acquire wild proportions which cannot be challenged but can influence strongly the coming expression of the people's will.

Within a few months, a scurrilous weekly paper specializing in throwing mud at the new leaders of Italy, has reached a circulation, it is said, of 500,000 copies. Some old pre-fascist leaders, whose skill was proved when, as a result of their stewardship, fascism came into power, now are asking for a chance to try again. The attack is conducted against the six-party coalition as a whole and inside some of the parties where the original anti-fascism is drastically diluted. There can be no mistake about the final outcome: if the resistance leaders are crushed or forced out of public life, if they are denied the opportunity to test their claim to leadership in national elections, or if elections are conducted by old hands at electioneering with the help of internal mobsters and foreign arms—then the last hope for democracy in Italy is gone.

It happened before. Twenty-three years ago, large sections of the Italian people, worn out by a great war, were led astray, and democracy was crushed in Italy. It was the first of the European democracies to fall.

Will it happen again? Will the great powers realize that if the resistance leadership in Italy is crushed, they themselves are defeated and peace endangered: For Italian democracy is a frail thing. But so is peace.

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The French Colonial Ideal

by

JEAN CHRETIEN

Mr. Jean Chretien, pseudonym of a well-known colonial administrator of France, is temporarily in the United States discussing various problems concerning the French Colonial Empire with the United States government and various other United Nations.

Mr. Chretien's article presents new, highly-interesting information about the role of French colonies. While we cannot agree completely with Mr. Chretien's appreciation of French colonial methods in the past, and while we are less optimistic than he is about the future, we are very happy to present his view of France's constructive approach to the general challenge of colonial Trusteeship.

IN the political plan outlined in the French Government's official declaration of March 27, 1945, the French empire will be organized as a Federal Union which will include several different federations (typical are Indo-China, and French West Africa), each enjoying a maximum of autonomy. A common Parliament discussing matters of common interest, would bring together delegates from various parts of the Union democratically elected to insure representation for the masses. All inhabitants of the Union will enjoy double citizenship, as citizens of their own country and of the Union.

That double citizenship expresses the philosophy of the system. On the one hand, citizens of the Union have a common destiny, be they white, yellow or black. All citizens share in common certain rights and certain duties. The Union is not constructed for the benefit of any single member. It is a house of many rooms, built for all, and in which all shall have their home. France renounces the binding of Africans and Asiatics of her colonies to France's own narrowly nationalistic purposes, and proposes instead to these colonials within the Empire that they make common cause with France and give their support to a goal that is also theirs. The community replaces subjection. The Declaration of March 27, 1945, and the recommendations of the colonial conference held at Brazzaville in May 1944 have that meaning: the bonds of empire make way for a common allegiance. The cohesion of the Union rests on the adherence of its constituent parts.

But on the other hand, though the inhabitants of former colonies become citizens of the Union, they remain nevertheless citizens of their own countries. France is not a ruthless melting pot. France contributes her culture and each ethnic group is free to combine that French contribution, in the proportions deemed best, with what it considers its essential, national traits. Abdou Kader Gueye, the African author writes: "True the light comes from France, but we must touch earth, and plant on our own soil." Frenchmen who have a feeling of earthiness agree on this point; they do not pretend to impose what is non-transferable in their civilization. Frenchmen do not object when their universal contribution is colored by each people according to its own liking. Thus there is no question of subjecting to the same civil and moral laws Indo-Chinese, Arabs and Senegalese. Each of these peoples must develop within its own framework. That was the policy of Governor General Eboué; that is the policy followed in Madagascar by Governor General Saint-Mart who succeeded Gallieni: This means a Sakalave policy among the Sakalaves with Sakalaves, and among Bestimarkas a Bestimarka policy with Bestimarkas. "The five nations which compose the Indo-Chinese Federation, and which are differentiated by civilization, race and tradition, will each keep its own character within the Federation," the government's Declaration of March 27, 1945, reads. "The study of local language and thought in the schools will be intimately associated with French culture." This indeed is reminiscent – granting differences of time and place and the need for technical training –of the spirit which joined the *Franche Comté* to France in the reign of Louis XIV who de-

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Gaston Monnerville, Representative from French Guiana

clared: "All things in *Franche Comté* shall remain as they were heretofore."

WHILE this policy of Union, in accordance with traditional ideals of France was ripening in Paris and receiving a warm welcome beyond the seas, the San Francisco conference discussed different projects for the colonial world in which the ideas of independence and segregation took precedence over the federative ideal.

At first sight, it might seem strange that 50 nations—many of them unfamiliar with colonial questions, others recently emancipated, others hostile to old empires, in their desire to open a new world to their commerce and influence—should have joined to prepare a Charter which bound only four or five of their membership. A few journalists understood the legitimate anxiety of these nations whose future depends on the fate of their empires. Thus an editorial writer on the New York *Post* admitted on May 14 that it was difficult to require nations to abandon without compensation those possessions which meant their only chance of prosperity.

In many ways the French conception is more daring than the Charter. The Charter does not demand the liquidation of the colonial system. It demands only its humanization and its progressive evolution. France, on the other hand, declares its willingness to liquidate the old system and recognizes the equality of races, no matter how different they may be. France does not hesitate to grant former possessions equal rank with herself in the new Union. In certain cases, the Charter provides for tutelage. It is very possible that Africans will be less flattered by this somewhat anonymous tutelage than by the application of an ideology increasing their self-importance, permitting them to evolve as equals within a framework in which France has herself evolved during centuries. The great federal country, a tangible reality and not an unsighted promise, can be sought by continentals and the peoples overseas with equal eagerness, since it meets their need for development while allowing them to remain self-respecting.

France does not hide the fact that it desires this Union—under penalty of shrinking to a nation of 40,000,000 people; while Djibouti, for example, without it, becomes but a piece of desert. Union gives value to the least of its parts, thus offering to each its own advantages also.

Within this idea, the terms "dependence" and "independence" lose their meaning. Suppose that the Philippine Islands should become the 49th state; they would not feel more dependent than any of the other 48 states. The same is

Another colored member of the assembly which plans a modern constitution for the French Colonies: Mme Eugénie Eboué, widow of the well-known former governor general of French Equatorial Africa.

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Against a background of the old French Declaration of Human Rights is one of the numerous delegates to the Constitutional Assembly of the New France:

PAUL VALENTINO, Representative from Guadeloup

Photo French Inform. Office

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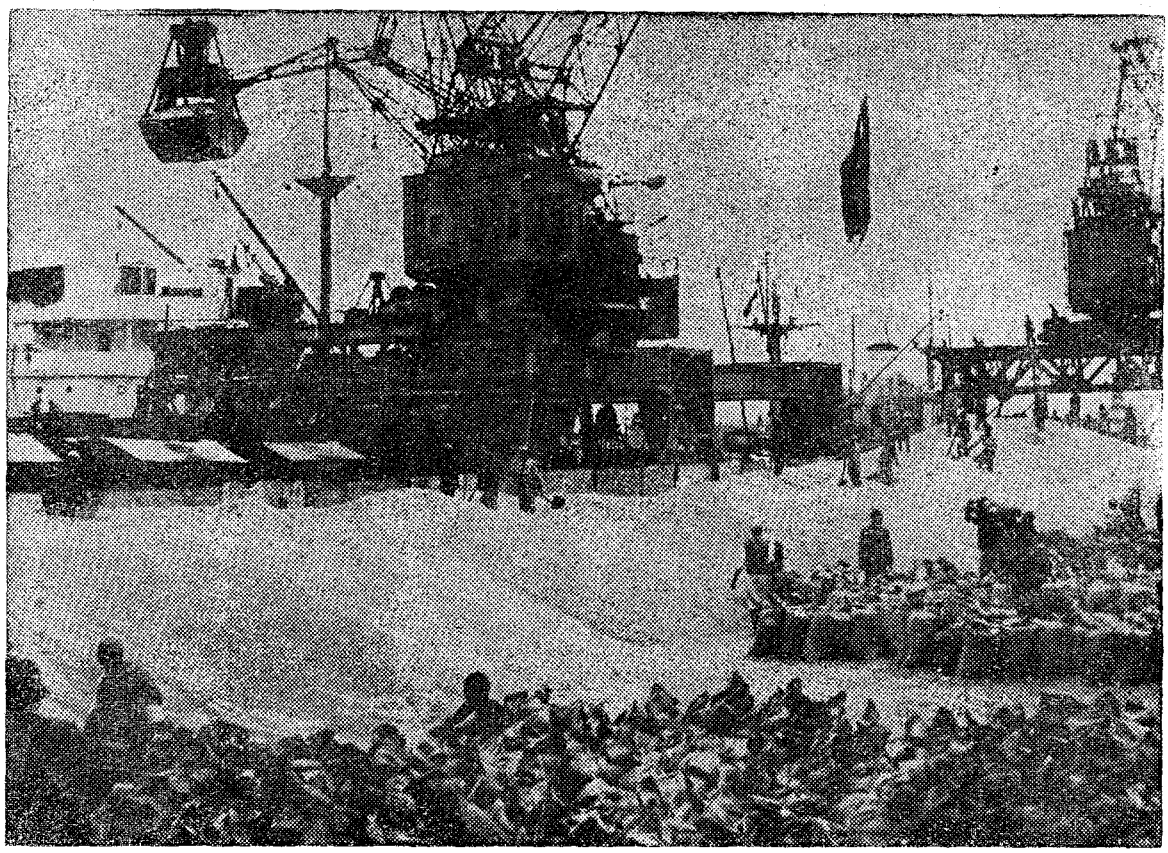

FRANCE GIVES MORE THAN WORDS TO HER COLONIES:

During the six years of war and occupation North Africa shared the hardships of war and showed the same heroism and self-sacrifice found in the mother country. Today France shows its gratitude by sending food to some of its overseas territories facing famine, despite its own acute food shortage.

true of the various African or Asiatic federations. Independence is not a universal panacea. Captain Stassen himself recognizes that the world is interdependent, and one may well ask whether the French plan—going in the direction of a regrouping of great, peace-loving areas—is not rather more progressive than any slogan leading to the crumbling of the world into small states which would themselves often be prey of local feudal oligarchies or of foreign business men. Still more dangerous is a cultural crumbling. An African province gains nothing—on its newly granted independence—in withdrawing within its purely African culture. Far better than a system which throws like unto like is the federal system which puts into contact varied skills and insures the development of all.

Indeed, while the French concept differs from the Charter, it does not suffer from any lack of idealism.

Indeed, the French concept is more daring than that of the Charter, which, except for its provisions for trusteeships, remains conservative. France liquidates the colonial system. She is ready to undertake her responsibilities in the world, but asks that she be allowed to choose her own methods, that she be allowed to draw on her centuries of experience.

At the present juncture, however, France is perturbed at the lack of appreciation in America of the ideal she seeks to make a reality. We know that certain slogans can be used to divide. We fear that under guise of international collaboration—a collaboration which France was first to preach—in reality a control of our affairs will begin. For in the measure that territorial possessions are no longer "colonies" but internal parts of a federation, any foreign control is an attempt on the sovereignty of the Union.

It is no secret that the Charter is a compromise of contradictory currents. Many difficulties might be avoided if French political ideas were more carefully studied by American opinion. France believes in her ideas. France believes that being better understood, she will be better loved in a country as devoted to ideals as is the United States.

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UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION *VERSUS* WORLD GOVERNMENT

HERBERT VERE EVATT

We are very glad to present this article by Dr. Evatt, Minister of External Affairs of Australia, whose brilliant defense of the role of the small nations in the new world organization has aroused world attention, and who is a member of our International Board. Dr. Evatt doesn't go as far as most of our editors in the conception of world government through the United Nations. His piece presents a most interesting contribution to this discussion and suggests many important improvements in the world organization, which if adopted, would facilitate greatly the federation of humanity.

ONE of the most important tasks for every thinking citizen of the United Nations in the troubled world situation of today is to have a clear view of what is not attainable at the present moment.

The discovery of atomic energy, more than any other event in modern history, has created in hundreds of millions of human beings a sense of urgency about world cooperation. The atom bomb, with its dramatic appearance in the arena of history, has emphasized and dramatized the need for an understanding, by large masses of the people, of the stakes involved in the fight for world organization.

Many people have been so strongly impressed by the discovery of atomic energy that they have proclaimed as their immediate aim the establishment of a vague and obscure "World Government." This proposal practically suggests that the United Nations Organization is of such an imperfect character that it should be scrapped and replaced by some international federal authority. The proponents of that new world federal union have not elaborated upon their proposal. It is clear that they propose a central legislature and executive which would be vested with powers to make its laws and directives binding directly upon all individuals belonging to the nations that joined the federation. The trouble with this proposal is that, for the time being, it is quite impossible of acceptance.

In order to get a historic perspective in this discussion on immediate world government, let us look at some homogeneous areas like the United States, Canada and Australia, and we will see that the achievement of federation, despite many similarities among the inhabitants, has taken considerable time. Let us compare these homogeneous areas to the present-day diversities of Europe, of Asia and Africa and Latin America, with their great differences of language, religion, national traditions, their economic differences and many ideological differences, and we will see that this task is more difficult than that of the above-mentioned homogeneous areas and therefore their federation under one central authority will perforce require much more time. The plain fact is that the nations and peoples of the world are not yet prepared to surrender the right of self-government in order to be governed by a central executive and a central legislature in which most of them would have a tiny and almost insignificant representation.

But without going into a detailed discussion about the difficulties of jumping from national states directly into a complete world federation, this writer is convinced that to support so revolutionary a proposal tends to divert attention from the immediate task at hand, which is to work for the success of the United Nations Organization which is already in existence and will soon commence functioning. If the United Nations Organization should be abandoned before it even begins to work, by many sectors of world public opinion, the result will be only that the organization will break up and we will have neither a world government nor a United Nations Organization—and then, of course, the worst is likely to happen immediately.

THE discovery of the atomic bomb in itself, important as it is, has not created any new or unsurmountable problem for the effective functioning of the United Nations Organization. It has only increased the necessity of making the

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UNO a powerful working body, of activating all its organs, of developing the functions and the competence of the Assembly, the Social and Economic Council, the Trusteeship Council and of all its other organs with the greatest speed possible. If the United Nations Organization functions effectively, then it will be able gradually to assume international control of atomic energy and nuclear fission will become an element of cooperation instead of one of division.

Another proposal that is being advanced as a consequence of atomic energy, even in some official quarters, is to abolish the veto from the security council in respect to all matters coming before that body. At San Francisco this writer, and many representatives of smaller nations, fought against some of the extravagances of the veto system, particularly insofar as its application to the processes of pacific settlement or conciliation was concerned. It is only because of the very grave consequences which a weakening of the United Nations Organization would have at the present moment, that men of good will can fairly claim at this point in the world's history, the veto of the use of force by the Organization against a major power will have to be tolerated, because it seems to be the only practical alternative to the break-up of the Organization in case of an aggravated dispute between the major powers.

For that reason, the smaller powers at San Francisco accepted this veto in relation to the use of force and concentrated their efforts against the veto upon conciliation and the veto upon amendments to the constitution. One very practical difficulty in the way of abolishing the veto system is that it cannot be abolished without the consent of each one of the five powers which possesses the veto. To expect that consent to be given at the present time is to expect the impossible. Therefore, my advice to all who may wish to make international cooperation a success is to work as hard as possible to make the existing Organization a success. It has undoubted weaknesses but these will gradually become apparent and it may be possible to obtain their modification by unanimous consent. I am hopeful that this will be achieved, because sooner or later it will be found by the major powers themselves that the veto is indefensible in principle and that it will be of no use whatsoever to them in attempting to exercise it.

INSTEAD of attempting the impossible—the establishment of a world government or the complete abolition of the veto power—it seems to me that the people of the world have much to gain by working through the United Nations Organization, and particularly through its Assembly, Economic Council and Trusteeship Council. The restriction of armaments, including the control of atomic energy, can best be approached through the Organization and not independently of it. The existing constitution has not overlooked either the matter of regulating armaments or of placing armament facilities at the disposal of the Security Council. I am satisfied that at the present time little or no assistance can be derived from premature and futile attempts to amend the present constitution drastically or to abandon it. If there is a genuine spirit of international cooperation, the present charter can be made to work successfully and we can prevent wars not merely regulate how they are to be conducted. Without this spirit of international cooperation no world charter can possibly succeed.

The political shape of the world for a generation at least, and probably for the whole future of modern civilization, will depend on the success of the United Nations Organization. No one at this moment can say how the organization will work, and whether the veto which has been given to the "Great Powers" will be used with wisdom and a sense of responsibility or whether it will be used in such a way as to nullify the purpose of the Organization. It is possible that by the exercise of the veto none of the five permanent members would throw the consideration of international disputes out of the Security Council. Thus, any one of them, instead of applying the regular and orderly processes subject to the principles of law and justice, might force the agreements into the area of private and secret bargaining. And then the world would revert to the well-known lines of power politics. The Munich "Settlement" is an illustration of the latter type of settlement.

Some of the major powers may attempt to paralyze the Security Council by using the right of individual veto, but it is my hope that if the veto should be abused, then the General Assembly of the Organization will be the instrument capable of redressing any unfair exercise of power and, in the last analysis, it may save the Organization. After all, the Assembly of the Organization has practically unrestricted rights of discussion, initiative and criticism. It represents all areas of the world. It will be the vast platform of world public opinion, and any power that goes wrong will have to reckon with its discussions. The General Assembly has, within its constitution, almost unlimited possibilities to discuss and suggest positive steps in interna-

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tional policy against insecurity, intolerance, injustice and economic want. The Assembly with its many committees, more than any other organ of the United Nations Organization, can arouse popular interest and enthusiasm, and can help develop a concept of international law binding individuals as well as nations, and bring concrete results in the solution of international problems of an economic character.

THE Assembly, constituted as it is on democratic lines, has a great opportunity of achieving success in the fields mentioned. The Food and Agriculture Organization which will be one of the agencies related to the Social and Economic Council has been successfully launched, and its work is designed to assist in the attack on poverty and malnutrition. The trial of war criminals is a new and important application of an international criminal law to individuals. In future, war crimes will be as much a part of *Jus Gentium* applicable to all persons of all nations as the law of piracy itself.

The fact remains, of course, that at the present time the peoples of the world are primarily interested in international security. Without some assurance of a just and lasting peace, it will be difficult to expect an adequate concentration on the positive ideals of general international welfare. The atomic bomb and other rapidly developing instruments of destruction have created a tremendous anxiety in the minds of all peoples.

These are urgent and difficult problems but they provide special opportunities. Therefore, the struggle by the lesser powers for a democratic peace has immediate significance. It is essential that they should not relax for a moment their efforts to secure for themselves, as belligerents, an adequate voice in the making of the peace settlements. It is equally essential that the lesser powers should leave no stone unturned to insure adequate and prompt action by the major powers. If the major powers do not unanimously and promptly shoulder the special responsibilities with which they have been entrusted in relation to security, especially in the Security Council, the lesser powers should take the initiative in the field of security as in the field of welfare. It is quite erroneous to suppose that it is only the Security Council which can take up and deal with matters affecting international security. In important respects the Assembly will have a jurisdiction concurrent with that of the Security Council and a jurisdiction which cannot be blocked by any individual veto by a major power.

Therefore the objective of freedom from fear as well as freedom from want can and must be pursued by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The important gains made by the lesser nations at San Francisco, especially in relation to the powers of the Assembly, the Economic Charter and the Trusteeship System, appear far more significant in the light of recent events. The future of mankind may well be determined as much by the courage, the initiative, determination and democratic idealism of the lesser powers as by the power, leadership and responsibility of the major powers.

There is at present a widespread pessimism and disillusionment in all parts of the world. The misery and sufferings which this war has brought about have left deep traces, and it will take long and strenuous efforts to overcome the many years of fascism. Fascism was and is the same all over the world—it takes one form in one country, other forms in other countries. There are fascist sympathizers in all countries, and now that the war has come to an end they are gradually emerging from their foxholes in nearly all the victorious countries—and they will do their utmost to destroy the harmony and cooperation of mankind. In order to defeat the old fascism, or some kind of new fascism, the major powers, as well as the smaller powers who are equally threatened by it, must realize that in the final analysis the preponderance of population does not give the right to lay down conditions of peace throughout the world. We all have an equal duty to apply the great principles which the leaders of the United Nations laid down during the war. We must all begin to apply the Charter, not to the least, but to its fullest extent. The provisions on human rights, on the economic welfare of humanity, on the principles of international democracy, must be constantly developed and strengthened. Instead of looking for ways of getting around the most far-reaching provisions of the charter and trying to weaken them in favor of supernationalistic traditions, we must, on the contrary, tend toward a most liberal interpretation of the competence of the world organization. The benefits of the charter will so greatly have changed the political and economic aspect of the world, will have improved the lot of the common man so much, and increased the mutual knowledge and understanding of the people of the world to such an extent that it might then be possible to reach out for that great ideal of humanity—the establishment of an even better form of world organization.

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Herbert Vere Evatt, Australi: s Fighting Foreign Minister.
Phot. L. Rosenthal • Pix

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imminent to Australia, had long ago disappeared. MacArthur was nearly ready to launch his great leapfrogging strike into Netherlands New Guinea, which in turn prepared the way for reconquest of the Philippines. Australia had enough breathing space to consider future, even postwar, Pacific political arrangements. In January, 1944, it invited a delegation from New Zealand, led by its able Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Peter Fraser, to Canberra. Discussions culminated in the Canberra Agreements of January 21, 1944, whose forthright independence rather angered Anglo-American diplomats.

Two Anzac declarations in particular disturbed overseas politicians. The Agreements declared that wartime use of bases "in any territory under the sovereignty or control of another power does not in itself afford any basis for territorial claims or rights of sovereignty or control after conclusion of hostilities." This was clear warning to the United States that it could not demand occupation of any bases on Australian or New Zealand territory after the war as a matter of right. But the two countries were clearly upholding a principle. It did not mean that bases considered necessary to the American Pacific defense system—and hence necessary to the defense of Australia and New Zealand, which will depend upon that American system—would necessarily be denied. Australian officials indicated that they would "go far" in meeting American requests. But the principle had been stated: the Anzacs would act as independent nations in such matters. They would be consulted, and, as free agents, would give or withhold their consent to any proposed course of action.

The Anzac Pact also defined the extent of the two countries' own "regional zone of defense": an area based on Australia and New Zealand and "stretching through the arc of islands north and northeast of Australia to Western Samoa and the Cook Islands"—a very considerable expanse of ocean. To protests that staking out of such a zone might limit security decisions to be taken later by the whole United Nations, Australians and New Zealanders could point to the concept of a Western Hemisphere zone of defense, long an integral part of American foreign policy, which was to be restated a year later in the Act of Chapultepec. What the United States could do in its primary defense area, the Australians and New Zealanders intended to do in their own regions.

WITH these forthright gestures of independent action on the record, the Australian delegation, led by Dr. Evatt and Deputy Prime Minister Forde, prepared to go to UNCIO.

He then fought for four principal causes: a liberal declaration on the rights of dependent peoples, which he won; a pledge to work toward full employment everywhere, which he also won over early cautious protests by the American delegation; unrestricted freedom of discussion in the General Assembly, which he compromised successfully with the Russians; and restriction on the veto power over security matters of the Big Five nations. The last was a hopeless struggle; but to the subject Evatt brought such a pitiless spotlight of publicity that the whole world saw the veto issue more clearly than it would otherwise have possibly done. After his fight, the Soviet Union and the other major powers will surely ponder very carefully before exercising their power to halt discussion of controversial security matters. They will certainly not use it capriciously. To John Foster Dulles, adviser to the American delegation, this marked at least a moral victory for the Australian leader: "Evatt succeeded in developing a body of understanding strong enough to insure moderate use of the veto power. He focussed the public opinion of the world. He did not change the words of the charter in this instance, but his fight will vastly affect its operation and success."

More conservatively, a newspaperman added: "Though there was never any hope that it (the veto) might be modified, his action may help prevent its future abuse."

In other respects, Evatt did get the changes he wanted. Of 31 amendments to the charter proposed by Australia, 20 actually went into effect. "Were it not for Australia and a few other countries," Evatt growled, "the charter would have been hopeless." Shortly before adjournment, he declared, "even without further improvements, the charter is 100 per cent better than the original proposals."

As a North American Newspaper Alliance writer at San Francisco put it, Evatt "came as a virtually unknown second-string delegate. . . . He leaves recognized as the most brilliant and effective voice of the small powers, a leading spokesman for the world's conscience."

The article by Ernest Hemingway announced for this month will be published in the February issue of FREE WORLD MAGAZINE.

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REFLECTIONS ON RETURNING HOME

SECOND PART

By LT. BYRON BUCKERIDGE

ABOARD a troop train jammed with homeward-bound servicemen from Europe's battle-fronts. . . . Behind us are 17 impatient days on Liberty ships from Marseille and Naples, docking at Newport News. Now the final stretch across Mother America, covering over 3,000 peaceful miles. Main objective, the great Northwest country, Fort Lewis, Washington. Rows of overseas stripes on the GI's sleeves gauged the intensely strange feelings on returning to American soil. Many dreamily questioned reality: Is it true that the long war is over? Has precious peace come at last? Am I luckily alive, not maimed or dead? Am I really going home?

> The first postwar thirty minutes in civilian U. S. A. happened during a rest stop at Huntington, West Virginia. Happy as kids on Christmas morning, troops dashed for main street stores and bars, loaded up with fresh milk, beer, corn liquor, hamburgers with onions, lemon pies, quarts of ice cream, sacks of potato chips, boxes of cigars, pipes and tobacco, boxes of candy bars, sacks of popcorn, dozens of daily papers, magazines and dime mystery novels. What a country! Filthy rich! Plenty of everything! Europe seemed so far away.

On the autumn lawn of the Huntington City Hall stands a white billboard. Like a giant page out of a telephone book it lists the names of the local boys in the service. A yellow star alongside some of the names indicates those who are not coming home.

> Are our postwar eyes, postwar hearts, and postwar brains intelligent and unselfish and brave enough to outweigh the yellow star losses? Add the veterans, subtract the yellow stars, add an atomic bomb over the world's main streets, subtract Franklin Roosevelt, but add his world goals, and how will 1960 differ from 1940 in Huntington, Paris, Chungking?

The booming, smoking skyline of Cincinnati and the huge unbombed railroad station is alive with folks traveling to unbombed homes. Women wear freak hats and fur coats. Crowds gulp hot coffee with cream and sugar and hot doughnuts. Warm, full-bellied business men and workers smoke cigars and read the latest tabloids of free speech in easy chairs. Headlines make the papers sell like hot-cakes: "GREATEST STRIKE IN HISTORY THREATENS." Faces turn red, frowns flick on, and blood pressures go up.

> Wonder who wrote that headline? Wonder who used to write those stories about the fighting in Italy last winter? "Normal patrolling and artillery duels along the front yesterday." The tyranny of words. How many dozen U. S. free presses must a man read before reaching a just answer? What does the New York *Times* say? and *PM*? and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*?

Outside the smoking-room window blurred telephone poles, fence posts, autumn trees, rows of corn stalks, farm houses and barns rush by like figures on a slot machine. Inside, soldiers are lighting up cigarettes and cigars chain fashion and tossing remarks back and forth.

"When does deer season open? Wish I had my M-1 rifle to hunt with. The Jerries were scared as hell of our M-1. The PW's say it won the war for the infantry."

"Yeah, we can hunt deer this season, instead of men."

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"What do you think of Patton?"
"Your blood and his guts!"

"I'll never be satisfied with less than 1,000 acres to farm on."

"My German gal kept my shirt and pants pressed every day. She wanted me to look nice. She put three creases down the back like an officer's shirt. She sure took good care of me. Should of seen her cry when I left."

"We'll get soft with the Germans and in ten years they will be ready to fight again."
"You forget the atomic bomb—it's changed everything."

"The French gals were filthy."
"You would be filthy, too, if you had to go without soap for five years."

"The Russian soldiers would come across the river to buy stuff from us. They bargained for PX wrist watches with sweep-second hand and luminous dial. They wouldn't have our good watches."

"I will never forget those 150 bodies at that concentration camp. The Germans poured gasoline on them and then burned them. We marched every German civilian through the camp and made them look at the sights."

"The railroads in Switzerland are a hell of a lot better than ours. Electric engines, and clean, roomy coaches."
"We auctioned off our pants and shirts to the Swiss. Some of the men in our tour came back in their underwear."

"I have seen more Italian art in the Mellon Institute with Rockefeller's name on it than I saw in two years in Italy."

"Army life on a peacetime post isn't so bad. No worries. Security."
"Not for me. I'll take my chances in the cold civilian world."

"I'm going back to high school, but it'll be different now. I've learned a lot, but I never drank or smoked or knew much about women until I joined the army."

"I've got to use my mustering out pay to buy a watch and pair of shoes like my wife sent me. Dammit, I wish I hadn't sold them in Paris, but a hundred and fifty bucks looked good then."

"I've got a twenty-seven-months-old daughter waiting for me in Spokane. Wonder if she will like me? I'm damned near bald-headed now."

"My brother was in the air corps. He broke his back in a crash landing. He is as good as new now, but he gets $167-a-month pension for life. He never even left the states. I spent three years overseas in the infantry and don't have a cent to show for it."

Neither Eisenhower's reception in Washington, nor Nimitz's triumph in New York City was any finer than the home-coming given the ordinary U. S. soldier in some western towns by the women volunteer workers. Sweater girls and grey-haired ladies, young with smiles, hailed the troop train in Lincoln, Nebraska, with arms full of homemade sandwiches and cakes, baskets of apples, bundles of magazines, pints of milk, pots of coffee—all free, and take all you want.

What a warm, friendly, generous person the ordinary American man and woman is! Yet there is a grave contradiction between U. S. generosity and the U. S. Congress. Today over 15,000,000 people wander across Europe homeless, ill-clothed, and near starvation, while Congress delays voting funds to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Is the great goal, Freedom from Want, buried at Hyde Park?

A three-cent copy of freedom of speech, bought at an American newsstand, will take the place of *Stars and Stripes* from now on. A study of an Omaha newspaper as the train grinds along over

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the great corn-belt: Westbrook Pegler hitting dead Roosevelt and dead Heywood Broun below the belt, and blaming the Communists for stirring up the dock-workers' strike. An editorial branding the British Labor Government as totalitarian.

> Not a bullet scratch on any home in Omaha. An abundance of food in every belly. Plenty of medicine in the hospitals. Factory chimneys belching smoke. Pockets and bank accounts of business men, workers, and farmers bulging with war profits. An editor buzzes for his secretary and dictates—under the blessings of American free speech and press—a long column condemning the British Parliament (already strengthened by 128 war veterans) for extending its war-powers in order to continue Democracy's war against Poverty, Squalor, Disease, Slums, and Ignorance. A free press for what purpose? To propagandize for advertisers? For armchair criticism? Whose mind needs to be brought up to date, the soldier's or the civilian's?

A lanky private said as the train approached the outskirts of Alliance, Nebraska: "This looks worse than war-wrecked towns in Italy." Broken-down shanties, twisted fences, weeds over doorsteps, garbage dumps, rusted auto parts. *Tobacco Road* and *Grapes of Wrath* untouched by war prosperity. Mexican labor crews shoveled and hammered spikes along the road bed. A few minutes later main street showed up more like the GI pictures America in his overseas dreams. But in two store windows within one block there hung the signs: "No Indians Allowed."

> Throughout the battalion he was called "The Chief." He was an artillery wireman. His job was to string communication lines from the battalion command post to the front lines. One night last winter he was stringing wire when a Jerry mortar barrage blasted his guts into a million pieces. His Indian mother and father received his Silver Star awarded posthumously. Indians are allowed at the U. S. military cemetery at Castelflorintino, Italy, because his grave is there.

Fertile land for miles and miles in the peaceful American Northwest. Snow-capped mountains with no German observation posts on top. A rugged corporal remarked: "That soil will grow anything—used to be a lake bottom twenty years ago. The Jap-Americans had truck farms in these parts. Raised lettuce, celery, beets, carrots—all kinds of vegetables. Takes a lot of hard work and long hours to grow that stuff, but those people are demons for work. After Pearl Harbor they were moved out and put in government camps. Now the local people don't want them back."

> A dozen infantrymen aboard were members of the famed 442nd Japanese-American Regiment. The record of this outfit in Italy and France is unsurpassed in U. S. military history. If there is any 100 per cent conviction among U. S. troops on any major issue, it is that these men and their people have gained the right to equality. The West Coast will be a testing ground of postwar democracy in the problem of race prejudice.

The great day finally came—Fort Lewis was as superbly efficient as a B-29 assembly line in turning out the gold-eagle discharge buttons. Within less than twenty-four hours soldiers were changed into civilians. No waiting, no red tape, no bullying, no conflicting orders, no reading of Articles of War, no shots in the arm, no saluting. A great human flood-gate opened and postwar eyes, postwar hearts, and postwar brains stepped out into the world. At the same time Russians and Chinese and New Zealanders were also going home.

> Each veteran filled his lungs with the air of freedom. Each veteran is a world traveler with broader vision. Each veteran is aware of America's wartime abundance. Many of them are great leaders of squads or platoons of men. Many have killed fascists and can identify them anywhere. Each veteran is filled with a thousand terrible memories. Each veteran possesses a part of Bill Mauldin's critical mind. Each veteran knows more than any statesman what the atomic bomb means to the world. Many of them know what they are still fighting for with the democratic weapons of free speech, discussion, ballot and fearless action.

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OIL IN THE NEAR EAST

MARTIN EBON

. . . staff member of the Foreign Policy Association finds that oil is first on the Near East power agenda . . .

BIG power rivalry forms the basis of current unrest in the Near East. Separatism in Iran, Arab-Zionist disagreement in Palestine and the behind-the-scenes struggle for power in the Levant gain their importance because of the clashing interests of the major powers. Just as Southern Albania, Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace are danger zones on the periphery of power interests in the Balkans, so is the whole Near East an area where the aspirations of the Big Three collide.

Basically, the struggle is aimed at two objectives: oil resources and the allegiance of the Moslem world. Both aims are intertwined. Moslem satisfaction makes the exploitation of natural resources possible. And Moslem attitudes in the Near East are reflected throughout the world, wherever Allah is God and Mohammed is his Prophet: in North Africa, in India, in Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

Moslem allegiance may well be considered the bigger stake of the two. In time to come, the economic importance of oil may be overshadowed by atomic energy or other discoveries. But the hopes, frustrations, beliefs, prejudices, emotions and desires of some 200,000,000 Moslems will remain an important world political factor.

The interests of Great Britain and Russia have collided in the Near East for many decades. They are now strongly affected by the Soviet Union's greatly enhanced military and political power, as contrasted to Britain's relatively weakened position. The United States is a newcomer whose influence has mainly been concentrated on Saudi Arabia and nearby regions.

United States interest has increased ever since Government and private oil specialists forecast a substantial decrease in America's own petroleum resources. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union appears to have developed a very definite and militant oil policy. Not only has U.S.S.R. attention to the Near East revealed this tendency, but economic influence in Austria, Hungary and Romania has emphasized Russian desire to secure extended oil holdings. As a result, British and American interests have lost much of their facilities in Southeastern Europe and are doubly interested in preserving and extending their drilling areas in the Near East.

When Great Britain and the United States signed a detailed oil agreement in London last September, this accord reflected their desire to avoid disagreement and to channel mutual questions into the advisory unit of the Anglo-American Oil Commission. The newly

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emerged British-American accord on Palestine cannot but reveal a united approach to the problems of the Near East, where oil is the most decisive economic factor.

In Iran, important oil resources are controlled by British interests: the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and its subsidiaries, the First Exploration Company, Ltd., the Kermanshah Petroleum Company, Ltd., and North Iranian Oils, Ltd. To the immediate southwest, in Iraq, British companies also control all wells. Three firms are represented. They are the Iraq Petroleum Company, the B. O. D. Company, Ltd., and again the influential Anglo-Iranian Oil Company through its subsidiaries, the Khanaqin Oil Company, the Refidam Oil Company and the Basrah Oil Company.

British and American interests meet in the southeast corner of Iraq, where Kuwait—on the Persian Gulf—separates Iraq from Saudi Arabia. In Kuwait, the Anglo-Iranian Company and the U. S. Gulf Oil Company jointly operate their subsidiary, the Kuwait Oil Company.

SAUDI Arabia is an American domain. There, Standard Oil of California and The Texas Company operate jointly through their subsidiary, the Arabian-American Oil Company. In Bahrein, close to the western coast of the Persian Gulf, the two companies have formed the Bahrein Oil Company, which they also operate jointly. When a pipe line to the Mediterranean was discussed during the war, it was envisaged that it would pump oil drilled in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Bahrein to a Mediterranean port, presumably the Palestinian city of Haifa. Haifa already accommodates one pipe line outlet, that originating in the Northern Iraqi Mosul oil fields which branches off south of the Euphrates River and reaches the Mediterranean in Syria, north of Beirut.

The pattern of economic interests in the regions to the north becomes clear when one considers the Northern Iranian province of Azerbaijan not so much as another Near Eastern region, but as an area south of the Caucasus mountains. Much of Azerbaijan is closer geographically to the Soviet Black Sea port of Batum and the Caspian Sea port of Baku, which in itself has almost become a synonym for oil.

This North Iranian province is in many ways closely related to the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, just across the border. Both regions—and that is what counts most—are very rich in oil. Naturally, sufficient ethnological and historical reasons for a strong link between the two Azerbaijans are easily available. There is indeed hardly an area on earth where the economic interests of two great powers meet as closely and clearly as they do in Northern Iran. It must be considered a diplomatic masterstroke that Britain and the Soviet Union were able to effect so smoothly their joint occupation of Iran in August, 1941, while counteracting a pro-Nazi coup d'état.

The presence of troops of two major powers within the borders of an economically latent country like Iran has for the past four years presented a difficult problem. Doubtless, the whole Near East will have good reason to breathe more easily when, on March 2, 1946, British and Russian troops leave Iranian territory.

Even the most persistent critics of some phases of United States foreign policy cannot fail to recognize as tactful and realistic our attitude toward the Iranian question. American troops of the Persian Gulf Command did a magnificent job of building or extending facilities which enabled us to speed lend-lease goods to the Soviet Union. Although these troops very definitely served Russian interests, Soviet observers have at various times been rather nervous about the presence of U. S. troops in this region. When the Iranian Government, on March 30, 1945, following Germany's surrender, requested the evacuation of all foreign troops, America was the nation that responded most quickly.

THE quickly changing Governments of Iran have, during the war, persistently refused to grant any further concessions to foreign oil interests, whether they were Russian, British or American. There has been a high degree of continuity in Iran's policy, in spite of the quick succession of cabinets which the country experienced. Sweeping changes in the external structure of Iran should not be expected, as they would be a violation of the Teheran Declaration of 1943, which was signed by the late President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and the then Prime Minister Churchill. The Declaration guaranteed the complete sovereignty and independence of Iran.

It is significant that Azerbaijan separatist aspirations are not directed against the independence of Iran as a whole. Should an Azerbaijan independence movement gain control of that part of the country, it may insist on what we in the United States would call "state's rights" to be granted by the Teheran

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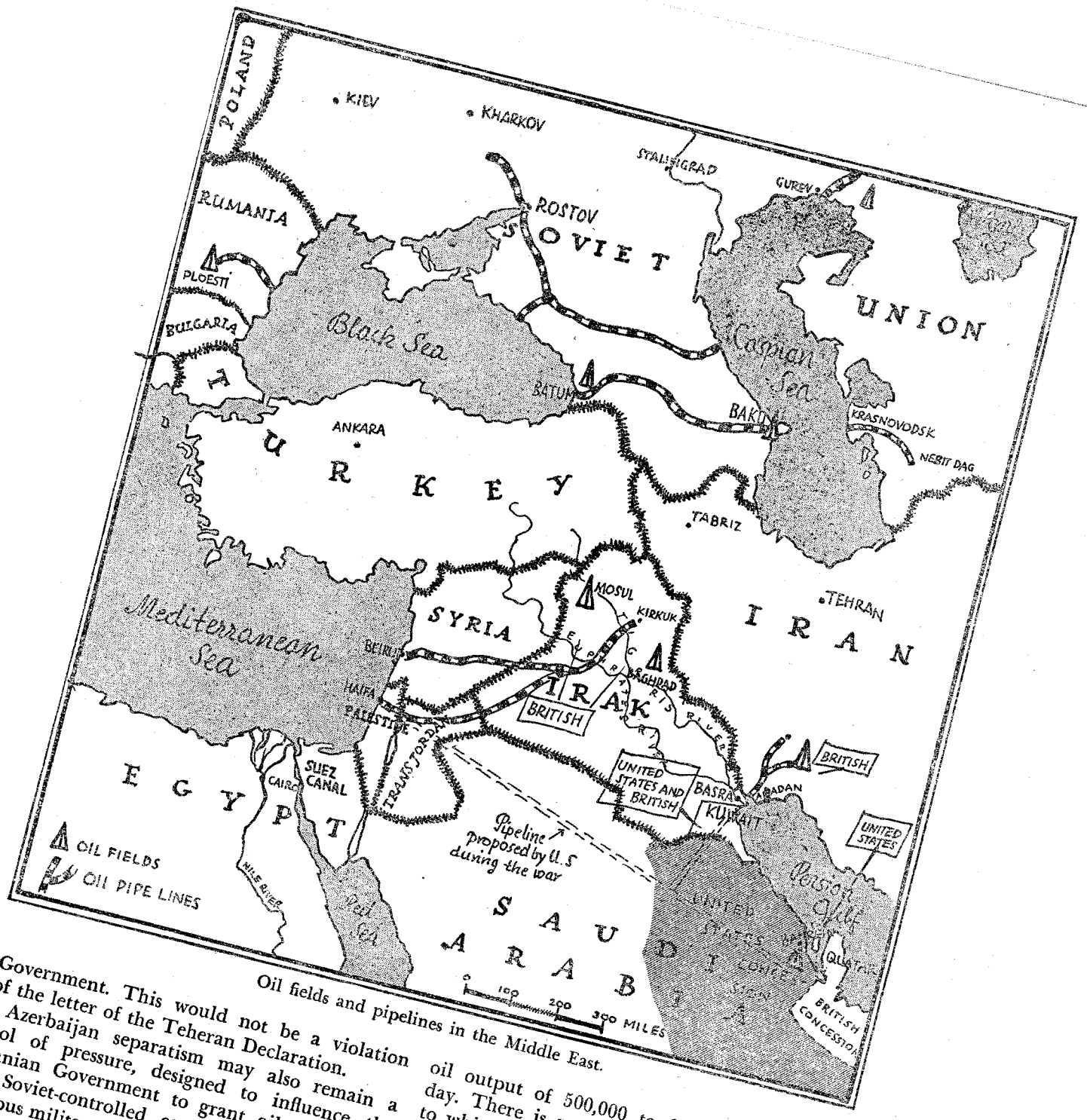

Oil fields and pipelines in the Middle East.

Government. This would not be a violation of the letter of the Teheran Declaration.

Azerbaijan separatism may also remain a tool of pressure, designed to influence the Iranian Government to grant oil concessions to Soviet-controlled companies. A threat of serious military trouble on Iranian soil exists as long as the Teheran Government may call on British troops to help quell an uprising that had its origin in the Soviet-occupied Northern zone. Much will depend on the strength of Russian desires to push Soviet interests in this zone.

THE Soviet Union, using facilities within its own borders has in the recent past had a daily oil output of 500,000 to 600,000 barrels per day. There is no reliable data on the extent to which recently acquired southeastern European interests have affected this figure, but it must be recalled that the Ploesti oil fields of Romania are considered among the most productive in the world. During the war, with the Caucasian oil fields in danger of German invasion, the Soviet Union shifted much of its production to the Ural-Volga Basin and thus developed new resources.

There can be little doubt that Soviet oil resources are sufficient to meet her current demands. On the other hand, British-controlled and American-controlled oil fields are also, at the moment, sufficient to satisfy existing

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needs. Nevertheless, the major powers are extremely careful not to be caught off guard. Defining American policy, John A. Loftus, Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of International Trade Policy in the U. S. Department of State, recently stated that "it is important that sources of oil supplies in countries with which we have commercial relations be expanded to the maximum extent and it is preferable that a substantial volume of such additional sources of supply be under the proprietary control of American nationals."

Writing in the Department of State Bulletin, Mr. Loftus suggested that the United States is going to find its "production potential falling progressively rather below" its "consumption requirements." It appears that other major governments may be propelled by similar considerations. Mr. Loftus, avoiding any exaggeration of present and probable future conditions, concluded that "there is no reason to think that the importance of petroleum in international relations, and the probability of international problems arising over matters related to production and sale of oil, will be less in the future than they have been in the past."

Developments in Iran, particularly following the withdrawal of Soviet and British troops in the spring of 1946, will furnish clues of the intensity of power rivalry which the Near East may feel during the next few years. While the United States pursues a neutral policy regarding Iran, a change in the status of any Near Eastern country is likely to be frowned upon in Washington, where Saudi Arabian oil is regarded as vital to United States fuel supplies. Big power rivalry in the Near East also tends to extremely careful consideration of Moslem aspirations and emotions. There seems to be a growing tendency to apply such economic-political considerations, rather than idealistic-humanitarian views; the best example of this can be found in the Anglo-American accord on Palestine.

Judging from Soviet emphasis on the oil resources of southeastern Europe, her interest in the Near East must be regarded as currently and perhaps preliminarily economic. This does not by any means rule out the possibility of further development in the U.S.S.R.'s growing interest in the affairs of the Moslem world generally. It is rather a policy of first things first. And oil is first on the Near East power agenda.

Control of Atomic Energy

FREDERICK C. McKEE

Mr. McKee's proposal for the establishment of an international atomic energy corporation will undoubtedly provoke controversial reactions. Some readers may interpret it as a world cartel, while others may consider it as the beginning of world state socialism. In reality the author, who is a veteran supporter of the principles of world organization—having been associated with the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, Citizens for Victory, the United Nations Association and many other organizations—is simply trying to bring all atomic power under the control of the United Nations and to facilitate control from within.

The Editors of FREE WORLD *will be glad to receive the reactions of readers to Mr. McKee's interesting proposal.*

TO avoid an atomic bomb race, it is obvious that we will have to work out some arrangement for pooling our uranium and technical knowledge with other nations with thorough and constant inspection of production and control of use. If the atomic power material is produced independently by various nations, the problems of inspection and control by a United Nations Commission will be very great. The production of atomic power material for commercial use involves 80 to 90 percent of the processes necessary for the production of material for the atomic bomb. Hence, atomic power material inspected for commercial use could be converted in a relatively short time into material for destructive purposes. Produc-

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ing nations under competitive pressure to increase sales of this power source in the world market might have an increasing tendency to become less scrupulous in checking their purchasers, as were some armament makers in the past, thus increasing the inspection problems of the United Nations Organization.

As an alternative to the difficulties involved in inspecting the production activities of a number of competing and suspicious nations, there would appear to be many advantages in the organization of an International Atomic Energy Corporation. This corporation would have a world monopoly on the mining of uranium, thorium and such other minerals as might be found to be practical sources of atomic energy. It would also control the production of atomic power material for commercial use and the relatively small amount to be furnished the United Nations Security Council for atomic bombs.

Each nation having deposits of uranium or other material suitable for nuclear fission would deed these deposits to the International Atomic Energy Corporation in return for stock. Each nation having plants built or building for the production of atomic power material would deed these to the International Corporation for stock. The Corporation would be an "open end" corporation so that additional stock could be issued as new deposits of uranium or similar materials were discovered, or as more nations provided funds for production plants of atomic power material to be owned by the International Corporation within their territory.

The International Corporation could sell atomic power material to its stockholder nations, other nations, or private corporations for commercial use. The United Nations Organization could have a Commission which would inspect the productive activities and sales of the International Corporation; pass upon the fairness of the amount of stock to be issued for raw materials or facilities and upon the price to be charged for atomic power materials, much as a Public Service or Securities Commission operates in the case of public service corporations.

The creation of an International Corporation would create a mutuality of interest among the "producing" nations, instead of developing "cut-throat" competition for sources of raw materials, or markets for the finished product. The inspection problems of the United Nations Commission would be greatly simplified since the International Corporation would be self-inspecting to a considerable extent and not subject to the competitive pressures which result in irresponsible sales. The pooling of research results would be automatic and immediate as in the case of various divisions of large private corporations.

While labor conditions would differ in the different plants, it should be possible to arrive at prevailing wage rates to be paid in the different countries since even in Russia there are definite wage schedules and inactive pay. The stockholding nations would, through their nominees, elect a board of directors who would employ the usual corporate organization with branches in the various producing countries. After providing for reserves for expansion, the profits would be disbursed to the various nations as dividends. The mutual interest of citizens and nations in the profitable operation of the International Corporation would produce a degree of cooperation similar to that given to a federal government by smaller political sub-divisions or citizens.

It may be objected that Russia would be unwilling to hold stock in a corporation because it was "capitalistic." In answer, it may be suggested that she would probably jump at an opportunity of acquiring some of the British, French or Egyptian stock in the Suez Canal.

To the objection that this would be to some extent a cartel, it can be pointed out that there is a vast difference between the old cartels made up of private industries, sometimes dominated by concerns like I. G. Farben and subject to no controls or requirements, and a pooling by the nations in the interest of mutual safety of the production of a dangerous material subject to the control and supervision of the United Nations Organization.

We have realized the necessity of "pooled" activities by various nations in currency stabilization and the distribution of certain commodities. There is apparently unanimous agreement that within a nation the production of atomic power material dare not be left to a large number of private corporations but must be concentrated in a single responsibility—a department of the national government. By the same reasoning, it is essential that on an international basis, the manufacture of this dangerous material be concentrated in a single agency—an International Atomic Energy Corporation, in order to avoid the competitive distribution evils and the commercial warfare inherent in the production of a profitable and dangerous commodity by a large number of individual nations.

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OROZCO

BY

RICHARD POSNER

IT is likely that the first day snow really blankets New York a medium-sized man with curly grey-brown hair and a slight forward stoop of shoulders will be out on the slippery streets walking along and enjoying himself as only a Mexican who hasn't seen snow in ten years can enjoy himself. Jose Clement Orozco lives in a studio-apartment on East 79th Street and when it snows it is probable that he will walk across Fifth Avenue to nearby Central Park. And if a kid decides to pack a snowball and throw it at the 62-year-old artist, Orozco would surely laugh, bend down and throw one back.

His studio affords him ample working space —two large easels, tubes of paint, a couple of portfolios leaning against the bare walls, a hard chair and a studio couch make up the furnishings. The floors are uncovered and the windows have no curtains. But Orozco seems to like it that way, and for one thing the world's most famous mural painter said that even the walls of his home in Mexico are bare. "Pictures on the walls stand in the way of new work," he explained during an interview.

Orozco will stay in New York through the spring. This is his first visit since the summer of 1940 when he did a six panel movable fresco for the Museum of Modern Art. That fresco is called "Dive Bomber and Tank" and caused a bit of a stir at the time it was completed because of an announcement that the six large panels could be exhibited in any combination, two, three, four, five, or six at a time—right side up or upside down. A good many people hooted and laughed, a reaction that is not exactly a phenomenon in Orozco's artistic career. But all this was more of a tinkle than a tempest when compared to the comments made recently by justices of Mexico's National Supreme Court when they saw his mighty murals in their new building. Among the frescoes was a panel showing Justice in a compromising position. When the justices learned that they couldn't tear down the walls (fresco is a very durable medium), a compromise was affected whereby the Government invited U. S. artist George Biddle, brother of former Attorney General Francis Biddle, to do something "constructive" on the bare walls of another part of the buildings.

Orozco takes such occurrences rather philosophically. He smiled sheepishly and said, "It was a new building. Some of the justices didn't like it because they weren't used to it. Now people see it and they're used to it."

Not only have there been people in all walks of life who would have loved to destroy his pictures, but in 1917 the customs officials at El Paso, Texas, had a good time for themselves going through more than 100 drawings Orozco was taking with him on his way to California. The officials held an hilarious private exhibition and then confiscated the drawings, condemning them as lewd.

If this incident is mentioned to him today Orozco is more interested in finding excuses for the officials than in condemning them. "I didn't speak a word of English then," he said. He paused, "Maybe because they had no experience they did it. You cannot expect from them any real culture. They're just officials. . . ." But at the time it happened, did he feel so calm about it? "I decide to take the world as it is," he smiled. Then, he added, "But the struggle goes on."

Yes, Orozco sees the world as it is—and that is just where his power lies. He shows us the world as his mind's eye sees it, and this world, as expressed in his murals and canvases, is one fraught with struggle, with the constant movement of man against the burden of an uncivilized civilization.

OROZCO has used the artist's tools as weapons in the fight against ugliness since he was 25 years old. Before taking up art he studied

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Agricultural Engineering, a course he finished at the age of 17. He soon followed this by grasping tangents and equilateral triangles in a mathematics course at the National University. Architectural Design at the Academy of Fine Arts preceded his taking up painting. Some persons think that the age of 25 is rather late in life to start an artist's career, but Orozco said, "It's old, but not very old, because now there was in me some maturity, some reason to want to paint. My study of architecture was very useful. A painter must know many things —even crime can help." He laughed, "I'm not suggesting . . ."

Probably one of the strongest factors that went into the making of Orozco the artist was the fact that he lost an arm and the hearing of his left ear from playing with gunpowder during his teens. Art has often been a substitute for something in the life of an artist; it is a compensation, and as such has served the physically handicapped extremely well.

In 1910 he participated in the revolution started by Madero. Here, at last, was a way to participate in some action for the common good. He dipped his pen in ink and out of the pain he felt for Mexico's repressed and tortured masses, there emerged attacks against the existing order—a thrust at the clergy, a lash at the aristocracy, and the black and white dissatisfaction with the army and dirty politics. It is said that wherever the revolutionary army went the presses followed. Orozco's drawings were reproduced and his bold attacks were easily understood by the illiterate as well as the literate and for the first time in his art career Orozco was on his way toward making enemies. Orozco's side was victorious, but instead of rejoicing the young artist soon discovered that there is no such thing as complete victory.

The promises made by the revolutionaries were not carried out and the odor of "victory" soon became a stench that Orozco could not stomach. Instead of regurgitating he once again used his weapon, the pen. He violently attacked the men whom he so recently had helped. His reward: poverty and ostracism.

He went to live in Mexico City's red light district. He lived among the prostitutes and grew to know them as human beings. They posed for him and result was a series of 200-odd water colors and pastels called "Houses of Tears." When these pictures were exhibited the press and public were shocked—not so much by the fact that his subject matter was so disagreeable, as by the fact that Orozco conveyed an admixture of pity, tenderness, and understanding for these neighbors of his. Soon after this exhibit he left for California and his mishap with the U. S. customs officials.

These experiences might have embittered a weaker man, but to Orozco the disappointments, the condemnations, were but extra fuel to carry around in his mind, experiences to help him formulate ideas with which to express himself. And to Orozco an idea is the point of departure, the first cause of the plastic construction (a painting or mural), and this idea, he says, is present all the time as energy creating matter.

AS a social artist completely removed from the proverbial ivory tower he is as interested in the strivings of his fellow man today as he was in 1910. But the level of interest is today a world level rather than localized. In fact, one of the main reasons he came to New York three months ago was to "find out what is happening in the world. Here is everything," he said with a broad gesture of his right hand. "All kinds of people are here. I like all New York; I am interested in everything, everywhere you find it."

He was not talking merely as an enthusiastic tourist, since he had lived in this country for seven years, from 1927 until 1934. During that time he painted frescoes at Pomona College; the New School for Social Research, and Dartmouth College.

Asked if he ever considered doing a picture of Harlem he grew excited and said, "Harlem is strong, is wonderful . . ."

That phrase, "Harlem is strong, is wonderful," is perhaps proof of the way in which he constantly thinks in terms of the plastic. He does not lose sight of the human misery, the poverty, the unfairness of "ghettoes" created for Negroes, but when he thinks of Harlem he thinks not as a social worker, bent first on eliminating evil, but instead thinks first as an artist to whom the *idea* of doing a Harlem picture can seem wonderful because of the strength of its people, the rhythm of Negro movements, the interesting lines and planes of tall tenements.

PAINTING to Orozco "is a conscious development. It is important for the artist to develop his art in a positive way—everyone in his own line has to improve, develop—a carpenter, a writer, everyone. I try to find new roles, new possibilities," he explained.

Concerning current events one would expect a man such as Orozco to be slightly depressed by such matters as the Civil War in China and

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the Indonesian affair, but instead he was not pessimistic. "The important thing is that there is change going on. It is up to man to do what he wants to do. There are possibilities, there is change—that is the important thing." He paused for a moment, then continued, "I don't think it's possible to remove the whole bad or the whole good. The important thing is to make a balance. The struggle is one of the conditions of life. One force moves one way, the other moves another way. Naturally, we want to remove the worst features in society."

To the artists and public who scoff at the possibilities of artists working as vital forces to eliminate a society's ills, Orozco had this to say: "If you want to fight something you need the right weapon. And a painter has a powerful weapon. For starving people, though, art doesn't act right away . . . art cannot feed. But it can help, it is a weapon. Everything possible that is constructive must go toward improving. The distribution of effort is important. No man can work only for himself."

Orozco's art has been called "expressionistic," but Orozco hates labels and titles, and as a matter of fact, he painted as an "expressionist" long before anyone in Mexico ever heard of the term. By expressionism is generally meant the use of color, line, tone, proportion by the artist in order to express an emotion, or an inner feeling, upon the forms of the outer world.

We asked to see some of his pictures and he immediately jumped up and opened a portfolio of rough sketches that he has done since arriving in New York. Most of the pictures were ink drawings or water colors, each executed in a single color, generally blue or black. Some were so rough that it was difficult to discern anything but an extremely restless feeling. He apologized for their unfinished character, explaining, "I was just thinking with my brush. I draw all the time. It's the language."

He followed these with a portfolio of 22 black and white reproductions from a group of 70 drawings he did for an exhibition at the National College of Mexico.

Orozco opened the portfolio and we saw an intermingling of hands and feet, elongated, foreshortened, distorted; one hand comes toward us, the fingers hanging limply, the wrist circled and scratched by strong thick lines. "Some people," said Orozco, "must have names and titles for pictures. I have names for these pictures, but they are not important. Everyone has his own interpretations."

Suddenly he looked up and said: "In Mexico I have always a fight. Some see things one way, others have different interpretations. Siqueiros denounced me for these drawings. He called me a fascist because he could not understand these drawings the way he wanted. The obvious is alright for those who want the obvious. Siqueiros, he paint the same thing over and over. They're good, they're obvious, they're his way of painting. People ask Siqueiros, why don't you paint with new symbols?' Siqueiros paints liberty with a red cap and chains. I want a new liberty. Also, Siqueiros called a picture 'Victim of Fascism'—it is a fine picture and shows a mutilated body—but to me it could be a person hurt in an automobile accident.

"In art you have to move along to see things in more than the obvious ways. Siqueiros attacked me because he thinks his way of painting is the only way—Art is free, a Coca-Cola bottle is always the same. The artist must be free to create new symbols. To me, an organic thing, an organic revolution, is important, not a name."

Despite their differing credos, Orozco and Siqueiros are old friends, who along with Diego Rivera, formed the triumvirate that made modern Mexican art the subject of world discussion.

He looked down at the portfolio again and turned up two pages. "These two pictures are of the devil," he said. The pictures didn't show any head or any conventional aspects of the devil. It was more the epitome of evil in motion, slovenly, disgusting, yet something to pity. It had many claw-legs. There was the sense of human about this grotesque creature, even though outwardly it resembled an octopus more than anything else. We told him it was an unconventional devil. He laughed and said "You can call it whatever you like, it has many possibilities." We thought he had definitely created a new symbol. "Yes," he said, "that's the thing art has to do." The second picture of the devil appeared to show him fighting with himself.

Whether the local art critics will take to Orozco's latest drawings is debatable, but this is certain: whatever the opinion, Orozco will continue to create, continue to disturb the precious slumber of society, continue to make us take notice of his ideas. His art is not always pleasant, but no art born in the twentieth century crucible can be honest and at the same time be always pleasant, especially when the art comes from an artist who decides to see the world as it is.

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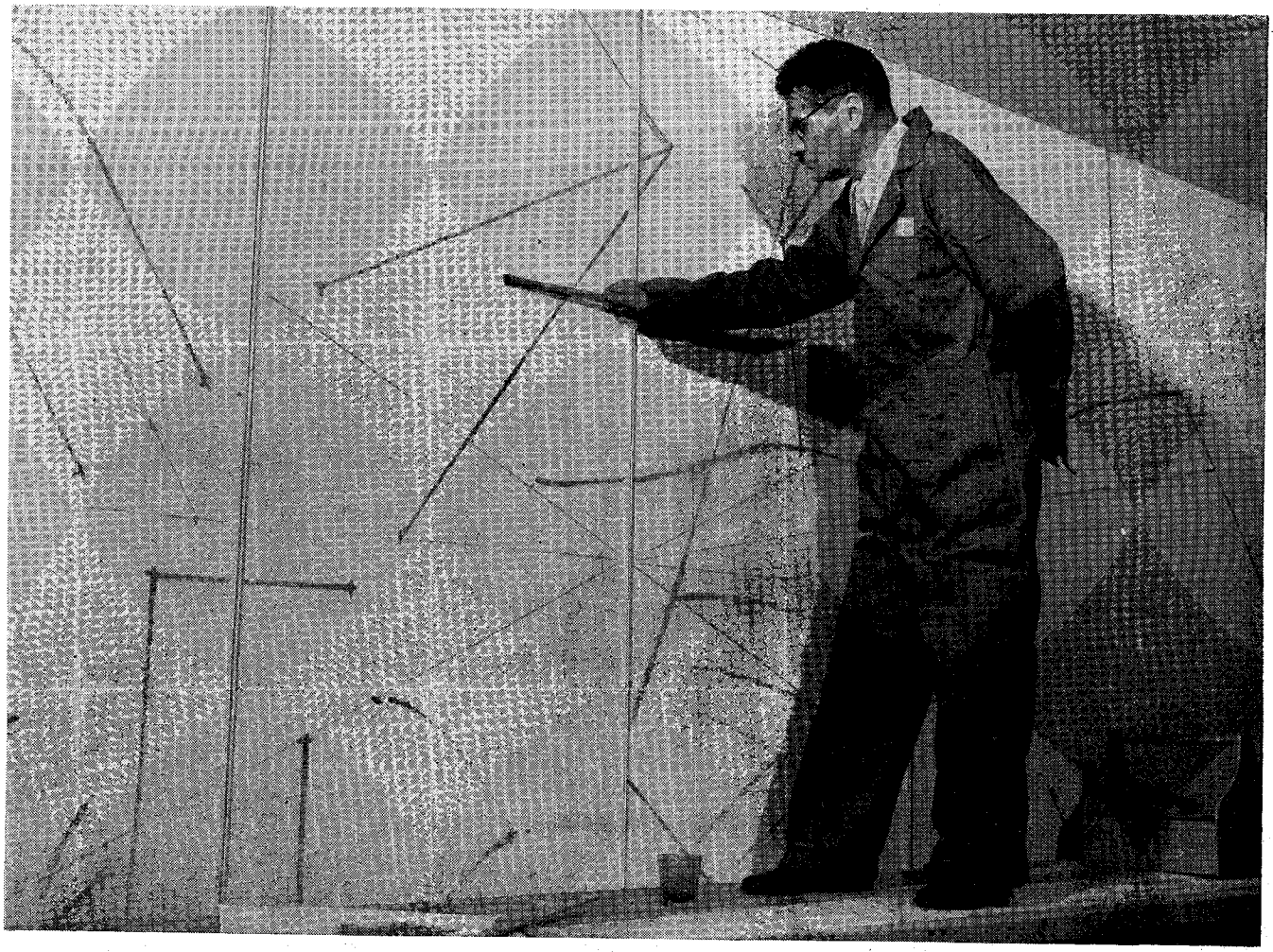
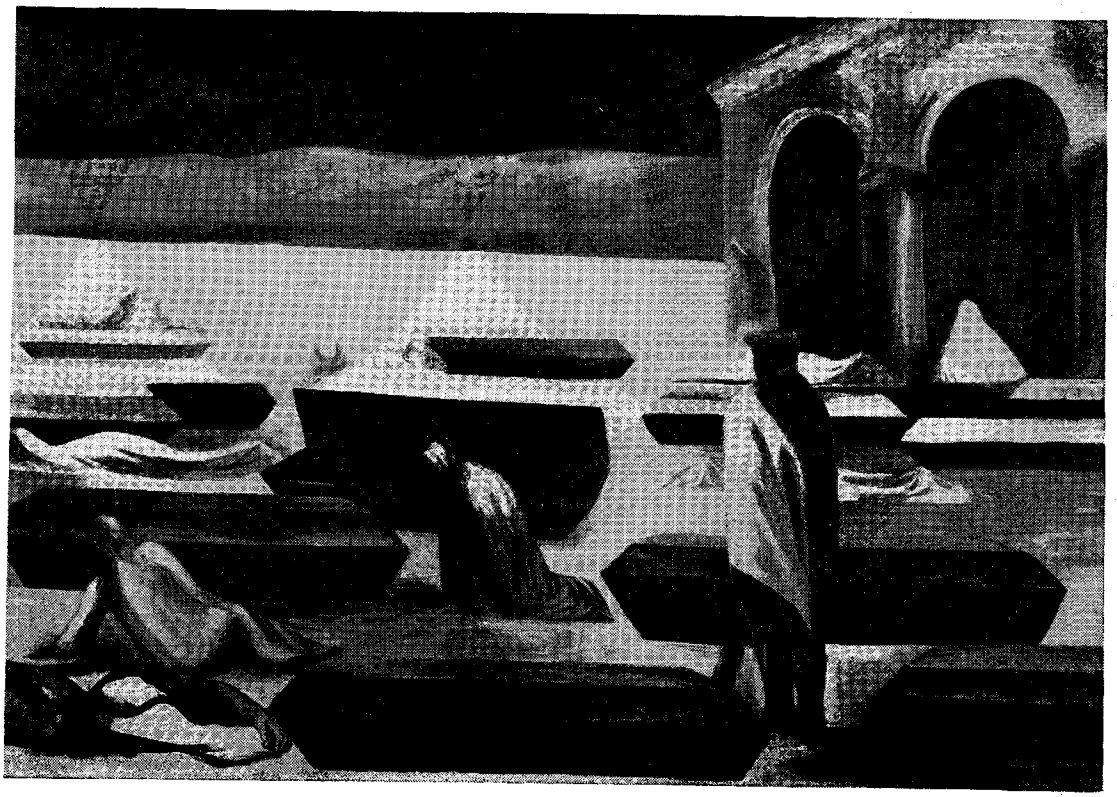
OROZCO—A GREAT MEXICAN PAINTER



José Clemente Orozco working at one of his murals.

Courtesy
Museum of Modern Art
New York



A typical work by Orozco: THE CEMETERY.

Collection
Museum of Modern Art
New York

SEE
STORY
PAGE 42

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A NEW FORM of BRITISH AMERICAN COOPERATION

For the first time in history a country has organized individual training for the future benefit of its soldier while they are still in the army but away from their homelands. As General Eisenhower said: "We ar assisting the American soldier to meet the new challenge of civilian life." But what makes this exper ment particularly remarkable is the fact that the plan was enthusiastically received all over England. Almos 100,000 American servicemen are availing themselves of this unique "on-job" training scheme. It is on of the finest, most positive ways for two great peoples to become better acquainted, and to learn eac others' viewpoints by working together in shops, laboratories, offices. The plan is simple enough: it pro vides our soldiers with an opportunity to work in English places at their own civilian professions, t exchange experiences, to "talk shop." Such opportunities have been arranged, among many others, fo physicians, lawyers, accountants, booksellers, department store employees, pharmacists, carpenters, printer etc. The picture above shows AL WUNG, an American soldier, and former member of a fire brigade i Honolulu, serving with the fire brigade of Soho Station in London. He is enjoying his temporary jo immensely.

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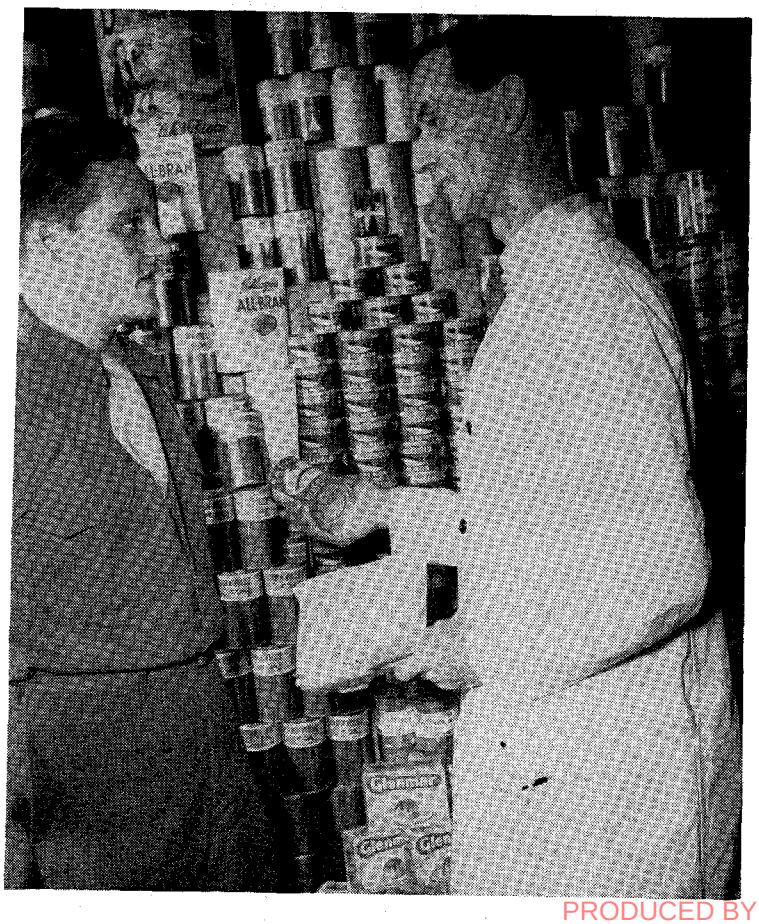
Capt. Kenneth Vogt, U. S. Army, is shown fitting a pair of sandals for a London miss in a well-known London shoe store. Capt. Vogt, who comes from Milwaukee, Wis., was purchasing agent for Sears, Roebuck & Co. before the war. He will be returning to the States soon to take up his old job as a civilian again. During the war, he did supply and transportation work for the U. S. Air Force. He spent 3 years overseas.



PHOTOS

by Charles Collier

★

LONDON

The British shopkeeper and the former American grocery clerk have many things to discuss while working together. Such intimate cooperation has immeasurable value for "world" understanding. Let people know each other in their daily lives and they will rarely become antagonists—there is too much common ground among people of the same profession.

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Capt. Marcus J. Flusche, U. S. Army, is shown working in the London General Post Office. Capt Flusche has spent 4½ years in the army. Before the war he worked for the Railway Mail Service in Texas. Capt. Flusche in our picture is observing the method of clearing second-class foreign mail. He declares that he got quite a few new ideas during his three weeks in the G.P.O.

ACTORS GET A CHANCE TO APPEAR ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

A scene from "A Bell for Adano," the dramatization of John Hersey's novel, staged at the Phoenix Theater, London. Sgt. Thomas Palmer as "Navy Lt. Livingstone."

Sgt. Palmer, who was an actor in civilian life, has served 4½ years in the U. S. Army. He said, "since I planned to continue working as an actor, being able to appear in these productions while over-seas is the best thing that could happen to me. I am grateful to the U. S. Army for giving me this opportunity."

PFC Harry L. Winter of the Bronx, New York, shown servi customer in a London store. Private Winter has been in the Army 15 months. Before the war he did retail selling in a te outlet in New York. He expects to return to the States fo charge soon, and welcomes this opportunity to brush up o expert textile experience.

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BACK FROM HELL

Among the people who are now trickling back to Berlin's ruins, the former inmates of Nazi concentration camps are a particularly pathetic group. Many return crippled physically or mentally by Nazi tortures, such as 56-year-old Carl Hopp of Berlin-Wilmersdorf. After having been kept in different Nazi camps, he lost sight of both eyes from the blinding interrogation spot lights to which he was exposed many times.

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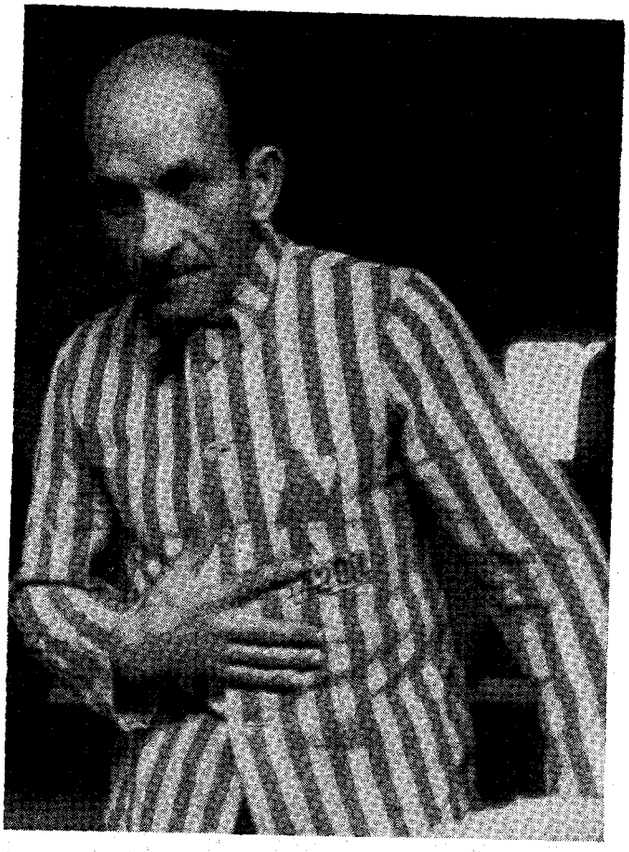

It takes real courage to start life again after many years in Buchenwald's concentration camp. His name: Wilhelm Tichauer. His profession: Master of ceremonies in one of Berlin's cabarets. His crime: "animosity towards the Nazi state." Now he wears his zebra prisoner suit and his badge No. 4209 as a professional garb of honor.

H. Christeller managed after release from a concentration camp to live "underground" -without such documents as a ration card. He owned a shoe store before the Nazis came. Now he has been given a cobbler's shop formerly owned by a party member.

Ludwig Golm was a teacher until 1933. Then he became a slave worker—for twelve years. Now he is back at his old job in Berlin. Teachers who themselves have borne the brunt of Nazi brutality should be the right people to bring up new generations in the ideals of democracy and human dignity.

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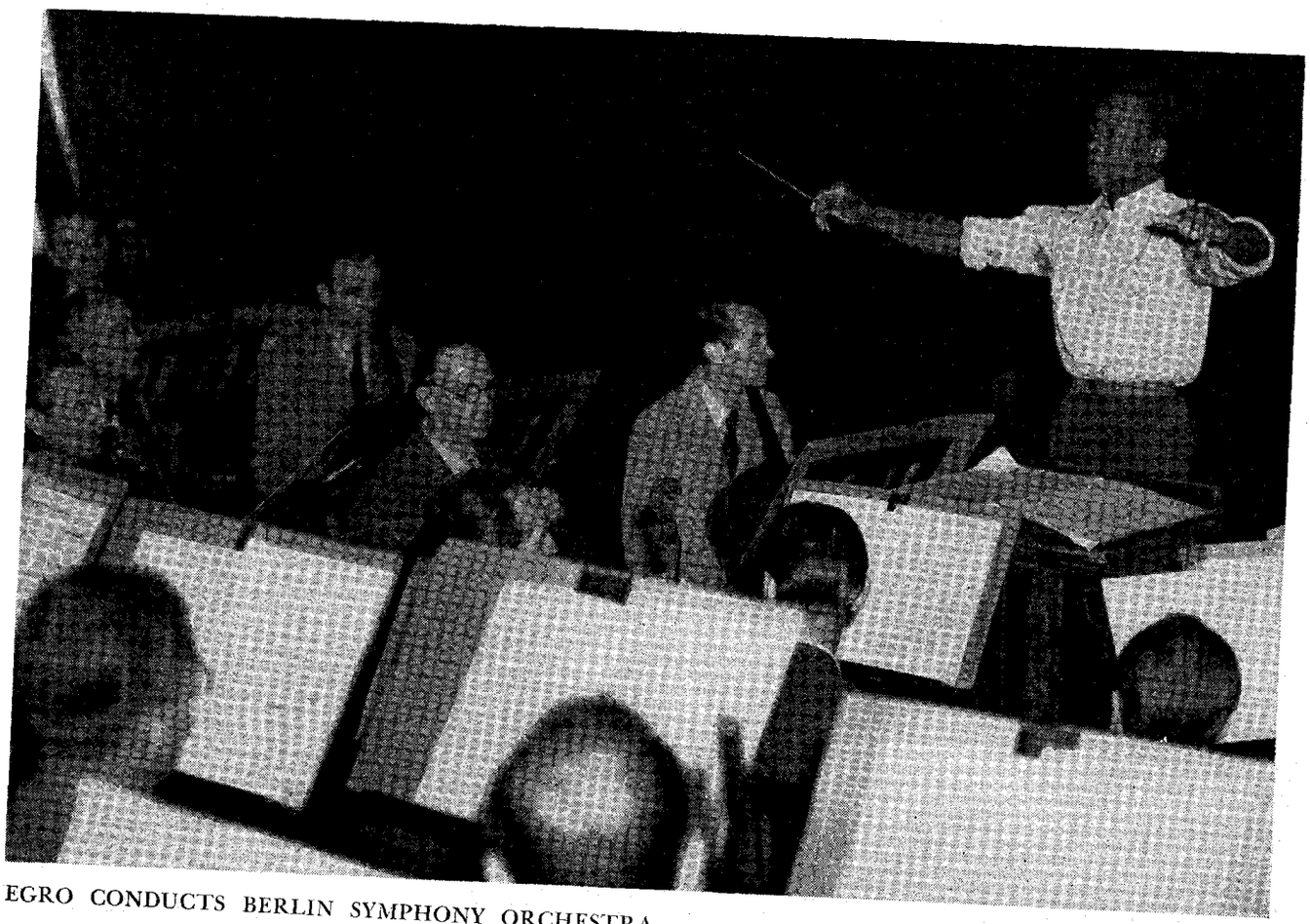

EGRO CONDUCTS BERLIN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

The same Berlin witnessed an event which showed perhaps most clearly the new turn of things. For the first time the famous Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra was led by a foreign conductor, the colored American, RUDOLPH DUNBAR. Before a house packed by Russians, British, French, Americans and the people whose state their joint efforts conquered, the Negro musician scored a great success, with Tschaikowsky's "Symphonie Pathetique" and William Grant Still's "Afro-American Symphony."

Dunbar was invited to appear as guest conductor by the late Leo Borchard, the symphony's new post-nazi leader, who was shot and killed recently by mistake when he failed to halt in his car on order of a sentry after curfew.

American officers, War correspondents and friends congratulate Rudolph Dunbar after his success.

Phot. INS

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In Montevideo the Free World Association, "Mundo Libre," is holding one of its monthly meetings. Among those present are Don Tomas Berreta, Minister of Public Works, Luis B. Berres, President of the Senate, Dr. Nicolas Repetto, Argentine Socialist leader, Dr. Eduardo R. Larreta, Editor of "EL PAIS", Carlos Sabat Ercasty, Uruguyan poet, Prof. Hugo F. Artucio and Dr. Francisco Forteza. During the last few months there has been just one item on the agenda of our Uruguayan friends: Argentina. Peron's henchmen retorted in the usual nazi fashion by forbidding the circulation of "Mundo Libre" in Argentine territory. They try to strangle our Montevidean edition financially.

DR. RAUL C. MIGONE, former Consul-General of Argentina and delegate to the I.L.O. and to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, who has resigned in protest against the totalitarian methods of Argentina—seen here in the offices of FREE WORLD, New York, at a press conference with representatives of the international press. Mr. Migone with newspapermen and the International Editor of FREE WORLD, Louis Dolivet.

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The FORGOTTEN FIFTH COLUMN

by

CESAR M. RAPPELLINI

EYE-WITNESS REPORT BY CABLE FROM MONTEVIDEO—All over Latin America people are debating just one subject: skyrocketing prices. The example of Uruguay, told in this story, applies in greater or less degree to all of South America. Most of the governments are incapable or unwilling to deal with a problem which, if not solved, may lead to serious economic and political consequences. Many people say, "what is the use of living in a United Nations world if, in spite of long hours of hard work, we are unable to buy enough bread, milk and clothing for our children?" Some of them say, "it is just as bad to live in a country where the shop windows display all kinds of food that you can't buy as it is to live in a country where there is no food to display."

Precious possessions sold for food. (Montevideo 1945.)

"IT'S incredible how the price of everything has gone up!"

"Bread, milk, meat, eggs, sugar, clothes—all are priced for millionaires."

"The people are exploited while the Government looks on!"

These are remarks heard every day and made by consumers all over the country of Uruguay. And they reveal a condition which means hunger, suffering and—in the long run—death for the poor.

What we are stating really needs no proof; it can be seen every day and is more obvious now than ever before. We intend to repeat only what everyone is saying and almost everyone knows: that the Government and the press generally are silent on this subject either because of certain interests or because it seems more politic to ignore the situation. But it is one thing when events take place because of circumstances beyond control, and an entirely different thing when, through avarice, a few people seek to profit by these very circumstances to enrich themselves and exploit the majority.

As far as taxes are concerned, the example of the tobacco and cigarette factories is more than eloquent. Every penny of tax on these articles means an exorbitant increase in sale price.

There are many branches of commerce and industry which are making illicit profits because of lack of firm government price controls. Indeed, there is a tendency to ridicule Government rulings, to laugh at sanctions and fines.

It is customary for each person to place the

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blame for this state of affairs on the other fellow—and everyone to criticize the Government. All this irresponsibility takes it toll of victims.

To form an idea of how the prices of essential goods have increased since 1938, let us look at some figures. A kilo of bread cost 11 cents (Uruguayan) in 1938. Now it costs 20 cents. And if we are to comply with the wishes of the bakers, who complain that they make little profit, it will soon cost even more.

This means a working family composed of a couple and two children—for whom one calculates that at least 35 kilos of bread a month are necessary—in 1938 spent $3.80 monthly for bread and now must spend $7.00. That is, $3.15 more per month for bread alone.

For this same family, milk which then cost 12 cents a liter now costs 13 cents. Meat rose from 19 cents a kilo to 35 cents—that is, of course, if one is dealing with an honest butcher who does not demand 50 cents or more. Sugar rose from 17 cents to 34 cents; eggs from 33 cents to 80 cents a dozen; coal from 7 cents to 10 cents, and soap from 19 cents to 27 cents.

TAKING as an example this same family of a couple and two children, we find that there is an increase in living cost of no less than $13 a month. Add to this the cost of light, water, transportation and rent and this family—which has an income of $60 a month—will see its monthly expenditures increase by $30, which must be met by a hypothetical increase of income. And in families where the wage-earner is a clerk or a shopkeeper, there is an even more staggering disproportion between wages and cost of living.

Income is rarely greater and expenditures are always greater—especially as far as clothing is concerned—for those who must keep up appearances because of the type of work they do.

According to Government figures, the cost of clothing increased 80 percent from 1939 to April 1945, and all indications point to an even greater increase. A suit which once cost $40 or $50 now cannot be bought for less than $80 if not $90. This is even harder to understand when one remembers that the textile industry enjoys privileges granted by the State.

Going on to other articles of clothing, also produced by national industries, we meet these new flattering pictures: a pair of socks which once cost 60 cents now cost at least $1; a pair of shoes once costing $5 now costs $8, and a shirt which formerly cost $4 now cannot be bought for less than $8. Besides, these articles are now of an inferior quality.

The textile industry, without doubt, is the most prosperous in the country of Uruguay. The factories of this industry at times show fabulous profits. There are trusts in this field which pay dividends up to 50 percent. One-hundred-dollar shares are rated around $290. Many of our Government men participate in these extraordinary benefits. The textile industry is protected by the State. But what it produces, even if it is an article of acute necessity, must be bought at a luxury price. Why? Because textile manufacturers are interested in keeping their prices up for their expanding foreign market—a market which interests them more than the one at home.

Suppose we examine the problem of rentals. A year ago experts on the subject calculated that the above-mentioned working family could find lodging for $15.53 per month. That was a year ago. If they can find such a place now, we'll give them a prize . . .

Why isn't a law passed holding rent prices down? This was done. But by redecorating, a low-cost dwelling could be re-rented at a much higher rate. And since 1938, rentals have undergone an estimated increase of 11 percent.

Speculators are a national menace. They deal in meat, eggs, sugar, and other necessities. Fines and trials do not bother them. All that can be done to them is apply a fine—which means less to them than losing small change to the average person.

When we spoke of our small family whose income must rise to an approximate $100 we did not take into account these unscrupulous dealers who by increasing the prices of necessities cause the expenditures to rise incredibly. According to their manipulations, the prices of different foodstuffs fluctuate, to the despair of the consumer.

In the case of sugar, after speculators had controlled for some time the delivery of sugar to the consumer, the Government took over the industry—only to become involved in similar profiteering insofar as its refining contracts were concerned.

Why cannot there be effective price regulation on necessities? Why cannot this graft and irresponsibility be removed once and for all? These are questions which seem to have no answer—but they are being asked by the people who are paying these exorbitant prices, who are undergoing these emergencies, who see how some enrich themselves at the expense of others, who are poorly fed and poorly dressed and who protest when they are told that life in Uruguay is not so expensive as they claim.

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Should Russia share in the control of the Ruhr?

One of the most heated discussions going on at present is about the future of Germany. France, which has been invaded three times in the last seventy-five years, is unanimous from the extreme right to the extreme left in her determination not to permit the rebirth of a strong unified Germany. One of the main safeguards suggested by France and other neighbors of Germany is the internationalization of the Ruhr.

But as soon as one speaks of internationalization there is the immediate problem of who is to participate in the control. The question is asked whether Russia should or should not be included. FREE WORLD believes that the potential international administration of the Ruhr as well as every international problem should be dealt with by all the United Nations through the UNO. FREE WORLD is starting with this symposium a free tribune of discussion of controversial international problems. Although the editors of FREE WORLD may not always agree, divergent opinions and points of view will be aired, and published under the responsibility of the respective authors.

DR. JOAD: We are continually being told that the Ruhr mines ought to be placed under the control of an International Commission and the coal which they produce distributed not only over Germany as a whole, but over most of Central Europe as it used to be. That presupposes that something in the nature of an International Commission is possible. It seems to me, in the present state of the world, quite chimerical to envisage such a commission including Russia. When cooperation on any ground is proposed, however big the concession which may be offered, you find again and again that somehow or other it is the Russians who won't play.

PROF. COLE: I would not regard it as chimerical. It depends on how you interpret the present Russian attitude. Their line today is that they are not going to cooperate until we say we will not interfere in Eastern Europe, which they regard as their sphere of influence. But, once given that assurance, they will be anxious to cooperate in the West, and in the case of the Ruhr they will be particularly anxious to collaborate because they will want to get their share of what can be brought out of the Ruhr industries.

LORD VANSITTART: That is rather a one-sided aspect of cooperation.

LORD RUSSELL: I agree with Cole, but I would phrase it differently: that, provided we do not interfere in the East, they are only too ready to interfere in the West.

DR. JOAD: Are you suggesting that we should invite them to come in on the Ruhr on their terms?

LORD RUSSELL: No. As long as they keep up this monopoly in the East, we ought to refuse them any voice whatsoever in the West.

LORD VANSITTART: I agree. There were two great arsenals in Germany before the war: one in Silesia, one in the Ruhr. If they want to come into the Ruhr, surely we should be allowed a say or some measure of control in the other. It is manifestly inequitable that they should hog the whole of the Silesian one and come into the Ruhr too.

PROF. COLE: Is it to our advantage to insist on that? Are we trying to head on for a collision with Russia, or trying to civilize Russia? I should think that, even if they are unreasonable, it is to our advantage to maintain what cooperation we can. I think it would be to our advantage to let them come in on an International Consortium in the Ruhr. But the terms of that Consortium would have to be drawn up in the West, and if the Russians would not accept suitable terms they would have to stay out.

LORD RUSSELL: And would you have a majority vote decisive on your international body? In that case the Russians could always be outvoted.

PROF. COLE: Oh yes—except that you would have some division so that the Russians could always claim a share which would be an incentive to come in.

LORD RUSSELL: Well, I don't agree. You may call that cooperation, but in fact you would be conceding to the

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Russians on every point everything they want. I don't want that.

PROF. COLE: You are getting ready for the next World War.

LORD RUSSELL: That is coming in any case. We may as well be ready for it. What you propose is just Munich over again. We tried it out with Hitler and it didn't work. Why should we think it would work next time?

LORD VANSITTART: I agree. If we can't have total cooperation I don't want to go in for a policy of unconditional surrender.

DR. JOAD: It seems to me that how far you play with the Russians over the Consortium or anything else, depends on the view you take of the psychological and political motives behind their present attitude.

You may say: Here is Russia, enormous territory, one-sixth of the globe, the least densely populated of all the big nations; a lot devastated, a lot undeveloped, enormous resources waiting to be developed, the various Plans tremendously behind time; such a terrific job of social and economic reconstruction to be done that it might very reasonably be said that it is quite unlikely that Russia will nourish any imperial ambitions for years to come. Their one concern in foreign policy will be to establish a sufficiently wide belt of security on their Western front in order to act as a barrier behind which they can develop their country as they like. If you take this view you may very well say it is safe to give Russia a share in the West.

But there is another view. You can say: That is much too reasonable; the Russians are not as reasonable as that. If you look at history you will find it is very rare indeed that a power will concern itself with the development of its own resources at home when it can embark on imperialistic adventures abroad. What, in fact, the Russians are wanting to do is to play power politics on a big scale for the good old historical reason: "We want to be a Great Power and have power for its own sake." Therefore, in spite of all the considerations reached by the first view, it really does attract the Russians, for the sake of power, to extend their sway over Europe as a whole. If that is the right interpretation, Russian participation in the West would definitely be unsafe.

PROF. COLE: On the whole I think the first view is the one that will prevail in Russia. I don't deny there will be two parties standing against each other, but I am inclined to think the very degree of exhaustion and loss of manpower she has suffered will keep Russia from any external adventures for some time to come.

LORD VANSITTART: They have lost a great deal of manpower but they have absorbed and annexed more than they lost.

LORD RUSSELL: I take the second view. There is a great deal of evidence that Russia is in a purely imperialistic mood. They make heroes of their old people like Suvaroff, even Ivan the Terrible. You see this imperialistic policy in Manchuria—in Persia. Wherever you look, in any direction, you find the Russians are playing the imperialistic game in the old-fashioned style.

May I raise another point? I am very much in favour of Western Europe Federation, but it seems to me, if it is to be effective, it would have to include Western Germany—not necessarily as a State. I am not interested in it as a State, but I am interested in its resources and human beings.

LORD VANSITTART: That would arouse fury in Russia.

LORD RUSSELL: Whatever you do would arouse fury in Russia. I should not at all mind seeing the Ruhr internationalized, but I do want all the resources and the population of Western Germany to be in the Western Federation in some guise; otherwise your federation won't be strong.

DR. JOAD: Are you *suggesting* that we want federation in order that we may play power politics to better effect? Because I don't want it for that reason. I want it because it is the only way of preserving a certain way of life which I hold to be valuable.

LORD VANSITTART: I think that is perfectly right.

DR. JOAD: I agree with Russell that Germany must come in, in order that that way of life may be preserved. And Italy.

LORD VANSITTART: In that case, that rather militates against having Russia in on the Ruhr.

LORD RUSSELL: I should think most certainly that it does.

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THE REALTORS

a story by

Arnold Sundgaard

—we present again Mr. Sundgaard's hero Torvald at work—

THERE are times, I suspect, when Torvald is almost too zealous. At least he seems so to his friends. In his eagerness to get a petition filled with names, or a protest lodged against some injustice, he will not hesitate to call every person of his acquaintance, no matter how brief the friendship, in order to start the proper agitation. At those times of crisis, and for Torvald they are unending, he is constantly on the telephone exhorting and chiding and beseeching. His purposes are never without value and even his methods are commendable. It is his insistence that causes occasional distress.

To be brief, my wife found Torvald a trifle trying. "He's getting to be a bore," she said. "Every time you pick up the telephone and find him at the end of the line you know something's up. He's unfailingly keyed to the same pitch. I don't like it."

"He's only trying to help other people," I said stubbornly.

"I'm not sure other people always want to be helped," she said. "Other people like to be left alone once in a while."

"I don't think Torvald ever asks for anything unreasonable," I continued.

"If you ask me, I think he sticks his nose in other people's business," she said.

"I don't think I like to hear you talk that way about one of my best friends," I told her.

"Best friend? Since when has he become your best friend?"

"I've always considered him a friend."

"Well, that's news to me."

"Anything wrong with that?" I asked.

"No, nothing wrong as far as I can see."

"Why do you say that in such a tone of voice?"

"Did I use any particular tone of voice?" she asked with a kind of forced innocence.

"You most certainly did."

"Well, I think that's just too bad," she said. And with that she walked out of the room and left me alone.

There are times, I have learned, when it is better not to prolong an argument of that sort. Especially when the source of irritation seems to be obscure and bewildering. At those times I have found that a long walk will ease matters sufficiently so that the discussion can be continued on a more rational level. I decided now was the time to take one of those long walks.

When I returned an hour or so later my wife was reading a book in the front room. Without looking up she called to me as though nothing in the world had happened. "There was a phone call for you while you were out, darling."

"Oh, was there?" I asked. "Who was it?"

"He said his name was Torvald. I told him you'd call right back."

I ignored the gently chiding scorn in her voice and went to the telephone. The bell at the other end had hardly started to ring before Torvald had begun to talk. "I'm glad you called," he said breathlessly, "because I was afraid they might reach your house before I could explain why they were coming."

"Explain who was coming?" I asked.

"These people I've sent over. There's nothing to be found in my neighborhood and I thought you might know of something in yours."

"Know of what in mine?"

"A place to live. People have to have a place to live, don't they?"

"I already have a place to live, Torvald."

"Yes, but the little boy with them has forgotten what a bed is like. You can't refuse to help them, man."

"I'll do what I can, Torvald, only I wish you had told me sooner."

"I didn't know them sooner."

"Where did you meet them?"

"On the street."

"What street?"

"This street where I live. They were going up and down the street, asking from house to house when I stopped and asked if I could help."

"Well, did you?"

"No, but I'm sure you will."

"What makes you think I can help?"

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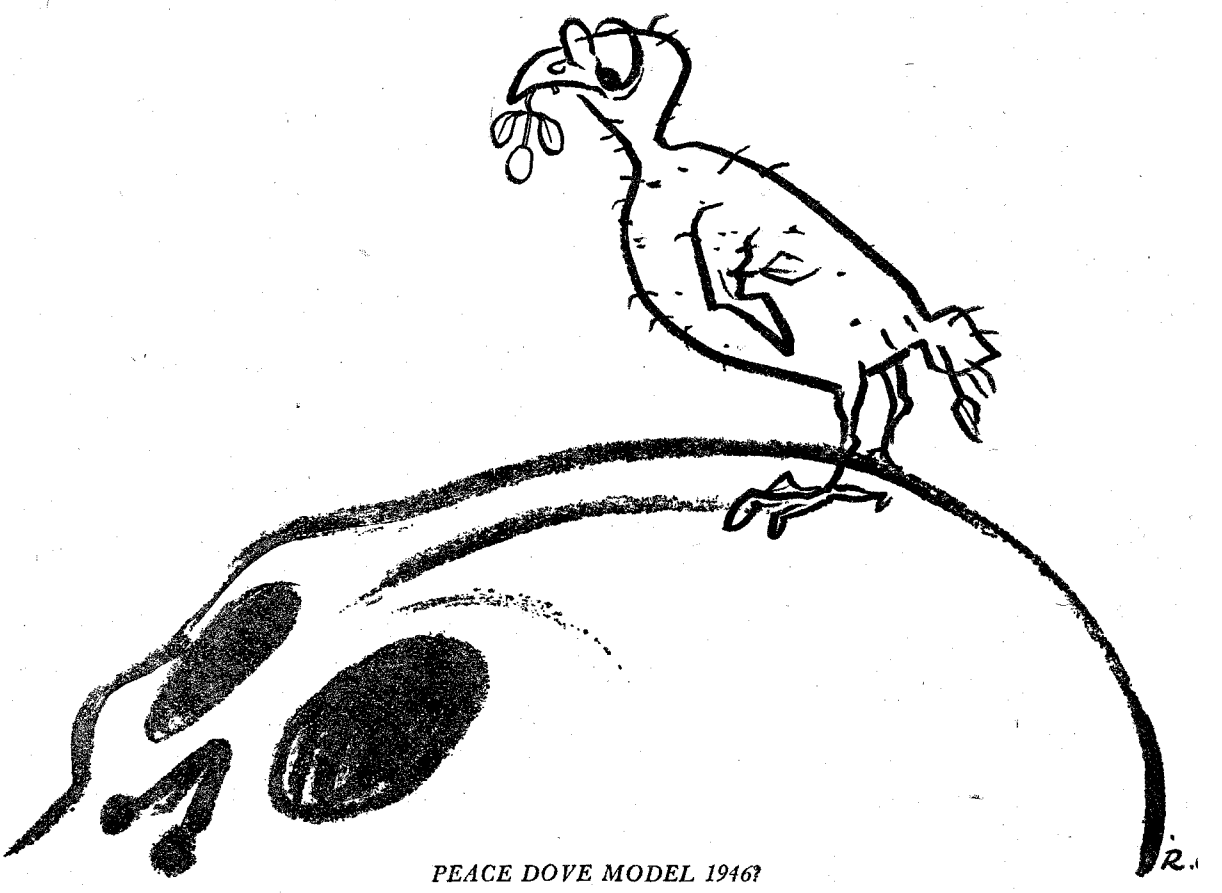

PEACE DOVE MODEL 1946?

"Well, good grief, man, everybody has to do what he can, doesn't he?" And Torvald, who is never one to allow dispute, hung up the phone. From the living room my wife called, "What was that, darling?" and before I had time to answer, the front door bell was ringing. "I'll answer it," my wife said and I yelled out, "No, I'll get it. It's probably them."

"Probably who?" she asked.

"Probably the young couple Torvald sent over. They're looking for a place to live."

"Well, that's the finishing touch," she said. "Now he expects us to become real estate agents."

"Not so loud. They'll hear you."

"Well, you can take care of them alone," she said and she returned to the living room and the book she was reading.

I opened the door and there stood a young man of about twenty-four and his wife who looked about nineteen. The young man had a service pin in his lapel. Almost hidden behind them was a boy of nine or ten.

"Won't you come in?" I asked. "Torvald said you were on the way."

They came in and the young man said his name was Jerry Hobbins, the girl was his wife, and I looked at the boy and wondered how a boy so big could be their child. The young man sensed my question and said, "I'm just out of the Army. I brought the boy back with me from Germany. My outfit sneaked him aboard the troopship."

Jerry and I talked about the problem of finding a place to live and then I suggested that we go over to the rental agency which controlled our house. "There's a Mr. Adamson over there who might be able to help us," I explained.

At the agency we saw Mr. Adamson who said, "As a matter of fact, we do have a vacancy coming up on the first of the month. A four-room place. That ought to be enough for a young couple."

"Well, there's a young boy, too," Jerry said.

"You didn't say you had a child," Mr. Adamson answered.

"He's not really ours. He's living with us."

"A relative?"

"No."

"Well, who is he?"

"A refugee."

"What nationality?"

"Does it matter?" Jerry asked quietly.

"When you answer like that," Mr. Adamson said firmly, "you're not being very helpful."

"All right then," Jerry said. "He's German."

Mr. Adamson paused for a moment and then asked, "Is he German German or German Jew?"

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Jerry got up on his feet and started to walk away. At the door he turned back and said, "I really don't know. I never met his parents. They were burned to death at Buchenwald!"

Jerry was out of the office before I was aware of his leaving. I turned to Mr. Adamson, trying to find something to say, when he said, "I don't like people who try to hide things. If the boy's parents were burned they must have been Jewish."

"What difference does it make?" I asked angrily. "Is that a reason for turning him down?"

"I didn't turn him down," Mr. Adamson said calmly, "I merely asked him a question and he up and left."

I started to say something but Mr. Adamson started to speak again. "I used to work in Chicago. I think it was even worse there. I used to appraise buildings for an insurance company and there were two questions the company wanted to know. 'How close is this building to Lake Michigan and how far is it from the nearest Jew?' If the Lake was close and the Jew was far we called it a valuable piece of property."

I was half way out of the door as he finished talking. I hurried home but my wife was alone. "Where are they?" I shouted as I came in the door.

"The young man came back and took them away. He didn't say a word and told them to leave. What did you say to him to make him so angry?"

I explained to her what had happened. And when I finished I couldn't refrain from adding rather bitterly, "But, of course, this was something Torvald brought on us and you're not supposed to be interested in that."

"That poor boy," she said quietly as though she hadn't heard me. The telephone was ringing. "I'll answer it," my wife said.

She went to the telephone. "Hello, Torvald," I heard her say. "You've got to come over and help us. That young couple went away and we don't know where they are. You've got to come and help us find them."

There was a long pause and I knew it was Torvald talking. And then my wife spoke again and she was saying, "Yes, I know, Torvald, but you can't let them wander the streets, can you?"

And I knew Torvald must have been smiling.

where labor is going

by C. W. FOWLER

THE labor movement has always had a strong and basic internationalism though at times this has been obscured or distorted by weak or corrupt leadership. From the time of the First International, set up by Karl Marx, down to the present, organized labor has followed Lincoln's maxim: "Next to the family, no stronger bond of human sympathy exists than that uniting workingmen of all races, creeds and tongues."

These ties become stronger when the interests of workers are in a period of crisis, or are under attack. And in 1942, at the darkest period of the war and at a time when the Axis was overrunning much of Europe and Asia, the world labor movement again asserted its belief in internationalism by seeking unity among workers of the anti-fascist nations.

The first steps were taken by English and Soviet unions, when an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee was set up. In this country, the initiative was taken by the CIO, under the leadership of its Scotch-born president, Philip Murray.

Finally, as readers of FREE WORLD know from previous articles, the new international labor unity was achieved. The World Federation of Trade Unions, set up in Paris this October, now comprises trade unions representing more than 75 million workers in some 65 countries —including former satellites and allies of the Axis, as well as countries liberated from fascism.

Now the question rises, what can the new body of world labor accomplish? What contributions can it make to promoting democracy and social and economic wellbeing among the masses of the people of the world? Most important for the future work of the WFTU, what will its influence be on the international machinery set up by the diplomats at Dumbarton Oaks, at San Francisco, at London and the

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other conferences and meetings designed to carry out the purposes of the United Nations Organization?

The strength and power of the WFTU depends primarily on its own continued unity. So far, it has weathered the stresses of gestation and birth. Many sharply differing political, social and economic strains were mingled in its parentage. Despite this, the child is no bastard offspring, but a lively, lusty infant with every intention of living a long and fruitful existence.

Consider some of these political and economic chromosomes. There's the solid Marxist strain, brought by the 27 million strong Soviet All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. There's the contrast of conservatism in the British Trades Union Congress, whose leaders are far from Marxists, who believe firmly in the British empire and who are determined to see that the sun puts off setting on that institution just as long as possible. Sitting alongside these men are workers and peasants from the dominions and colonies who know the inside of British jails, whose locks are turned impartially by Tory and Labor turnkeys. The Marxist strain is reinforced from several of the European co-parents of the WFTU. Notably these men and women—men such as Louis Saillant and Benoit Frachon of France—come from the rank and file of the resistance that fought Hitler in four years of bloody and terrible occupation. From the CIO comes a no less politically and socially minded leadership. These men lead large and successful industrial trade unions, with a record of achievement in the work of CIO's Political Action Committee as well as a record of achievement and current struggle in the more solidly trade union fields of wages and working conditions. Finally, the WFTU has a strong strain of revolt against colonial and semi-colonial oppression in its makeup. This comes from such mass leaders as Lombardo Toledano of Latin-America and from trade union leaders of the rapidly awakening workers of India, Asia, and the East generally.

The formal objectives of the WFTU were set out in the constitution adopted at Paris last October. They are, briefly, to extirpate any remaining vestige of fascism, to preserve world peace, to advance the economic and social welfare of workers, to promote trade unionism and collective bargaining, to help hasten independence and full freedom throughout the world.

This is no small order of business. To carry through on it, the world labor body has set up a headquarters (in Paris), a paid secretariat, and a system of dues from the national centers to provide the funds.

The determination of world labor to have a voice in world affairs was shown even before the Paris meeting of this October. In San Francisco last April, where WFTU delegates worked out a draft constitution while diplomats wrangled, CIO's Philip Murray took the lead in demanding labor representation in UNO. Supported by Britain's Sir Walter Citrine and the Soviet's Vassili Kuznetsov, Murray raised the question as an advisory member attached to the U. S. delegation—and was turned down.

The refusal was dictated by the U. S. and Great Britain, with Senator Vandenberg and Anthony Eden taking the lead. Oddly enough, Clement Atlee failed to insist that labor's voice be heard in the councils of the United Nations. Perhaps even then he saw the mantle of Churchill descending on his shoulders. In any event, only the USSR among the government delegates supported labor's claim.

This claim for labor's place at the official tables is going to continue to be pressed. It is, in fact, at the heart of labor's plans for an effective role in the future of nations and their peoples.

In this country, for example, the workers in the CIO are fighting against cuts in take-home pay amounting to 30% of total net income. These cuts, resulting from the end of premium pay on war work and from the fact that basic wages were not substantially raised during the war, threaten a cut in the national purchasing power of upwards of 45 billion dollars. Such a cut, as labor and government economists have pointed out, would be a national disaster.

CIO campaigns for national health, greater social security, housing, civil rights, and the like are all in the interests of our citizens. As in this country, the work of other trade union centers affects the outlook for all people in their nations.

In France, for example, the General Confederation of Workers (CGT) plays an important role in setting that country back on its economic and social feet. As one of its first tasks, the CGT has taken a leading part in the recent elections—with the result evident in the leftward swing of political power in the government. In Italy and other liberated European nations, labor takes a leading part in hunting down fascists and their collaborators, works for economic reconstruction, carries on a fight against monopoly.

The trade unions of the free world are now ready to play a leading role in the affairs not

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only of the workers but of their nations and of all nations. In the World Federation of Trade Unions, they have acquired a general staff, a headquarters and an organized rank and file consisting of 75 million working men and women from close to 65 countries.

Who's who in this general staff? Who will map the strategy, direct the campaigns, marshall the forces to carry out labor's pledge to make a decent world?

From this country, there's CIO's Philip Murray—one of the prime movers of world labor cooperation and unquestioned chief of progressive labor forces here. With Murray are men like the cautious and brilliant Sidney Hillman, who headed the CIO's delegation to the London and Paris meeting of the WFTU, R. J. Thomas, of the auto workers, now in the thick of a wage struggle with America's richest industry, A. J. Fitzgerald, Boston-born Irish worker who leads 750,000 electrical and manufacturing workers, and their advisers, legal counsel with "a passion for anonymity" like Lee Pressman and John Abt.

From Britain, there's the Trades Union Congress, oldest of national union bodies, led by the Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine, K.B.E., and infused with a strong leaven of new and younger trade union workers (notably among English women, brought into industry by the war) and determined on a better break from life than Tory governments have ever given them.

The leaders of the unions of continental Europe are mainly people with pronounced left viewpoints—men who brought the Left into political power after liberation, just as they fought Nazis and collaborators during the war that never ceased from 1940 on.

The Asiatic and colonial union leaders, now emerging as a liberating force in their countries, are in the WFTU, with orders from their people to push without ceasing for independence and economic freedom. Also striving for economic liberty is Lombardo Toledano, leader of the Latin-American masses, close to his followers in ways excelled by few trade union leaders anywhere.

One element is missing—the American Federation of Labor. Its leaders, following their isolationist line of the 1944 elections, when they backed such candidates as Gerald P. Nye, have refused repeated invitations to come in with the army of labor. Contenting themselves with venomous blasts against the CIO and the Soviet unions, they keep their rank and file divorced from the main stream of world labor. Evidence that this does not sit well with the membership of the AFL mounts daily—but the leaders prefer to remain isolated. Perhaps time will bring them in.

The WFTU is an accomplished fact. It has leadership, organization, finances and a plan for an active role in world affairs. Professional diplomats and other timid souls may not welcome its existence, but they cannot ignore it. Something that has the hopes and dreams of 75,000,000 people wrapped up in it cannot be ignored.

What do these workers hope for? What are the demands they will make through the medium of their new world organization? Will they be content merely to let it stick to its trade union knitting—which is traditionally wages and hours and nothing else?

The answer is no. The World Federation of Trade Unions is something new in mass organizations, something never quite experienced before. However, it has a background, in the internationals that preceded its formation for the past 100 years. And just as those organizations defended and fought for the political as well as the economic interests of the working people of all countries, so will their descendant today.

The WFTU will fight for the right of all people to organize and bargain collectively for the advancement of their living and working standards. This is the primary function of a trade union, and will be one of the primary functions of the WFTU. Unions have to fight for the extension of this right to all workers, since unless they do so their own security is imperiled.

But the WFTU will fight for something more. It will fight for the independence and national existence of oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples—some billion and a half of the world's population. It will fight for the complete liberation of Europe and Asia from all remnants of fascism. It will fight cartels and all other instruments of the preparation of aggressive war. It will work for the development of backward and small countries as their resources permit, not as some German or English or American monopolist decides they shall develop.

It will fight within the framework of the United Nations Organization and outside it. And if ever a future aggressor arises, there will be in existence a force to meet it that never existed before—the organized force of millions upon millions of working men and women throughout the entire world.

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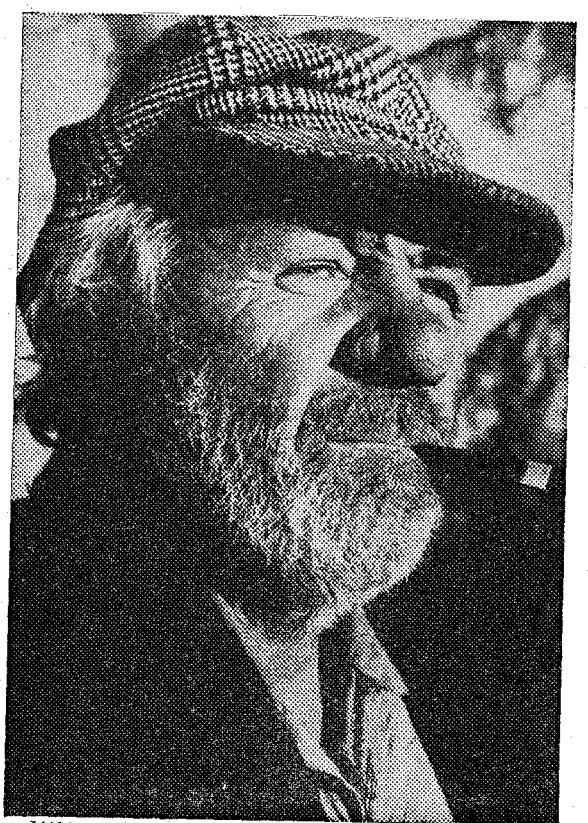
WHAT IS A

by



WHO IS A "CANADIAN"?
George Drew, Premier of Ontario, or Gus Cliche, great trapper of the Arctic? (He once set a record of the largest white-fox catch in the North, worth more than $25,000.)

WHAT is a Canadian? Today in Canada this is no frivolous question but one asked in all solemnity. The scope and magnitude of her war effort were key factors in the victory of the United Nations. Unity over that, however, did not prevent disunity over one critical phase. Ostensibly the vexed issue of conscription to reinforce front-line troops died away with the advent of peace; below the surface, manifesting itself in other domestic spheres, it may reverberate further, deeper and longer after the second world war than it did after the war of 1914-1918. Over the rift between English-speaking, French-speaking and other elements more gloom might therefore ensue than circumstances at bottom warrant—re-examinations more intense over what it is that holds Canada and Canadians together.

That there is such a being the skeptics doubt. According to them it is hard to identify him in any company; in Europe he is often mistaken for an American. The Canadian, they feel, exists as a Canadian only if he can be at once picked out as one of a general type. And since there is no single Canadian type, there is no such person as a Canadian.

Native critics such as these tell their countrymen, moreover, that they lack the patriotism, compelling and ardent, which Americans have. Canadians are said to look to Britain, to France, to the United States, above all, to their own regional or sectional concerns—anywhere rather than to Canada as a whole. For they are too fragmentated spiritually to be integrated nationally.

Painted thus, the picture is a dismal one. But it is overdrawn. Is it in every case so difficult to detect and label the Canadian? To some extent it might be better if it were. For there is one trait which many Canadians have exhibited together and which Canada, as she more fully matures, has been hastening to abandon.

That trait is a form of provincialism — one which acts as if the national spirit were safe

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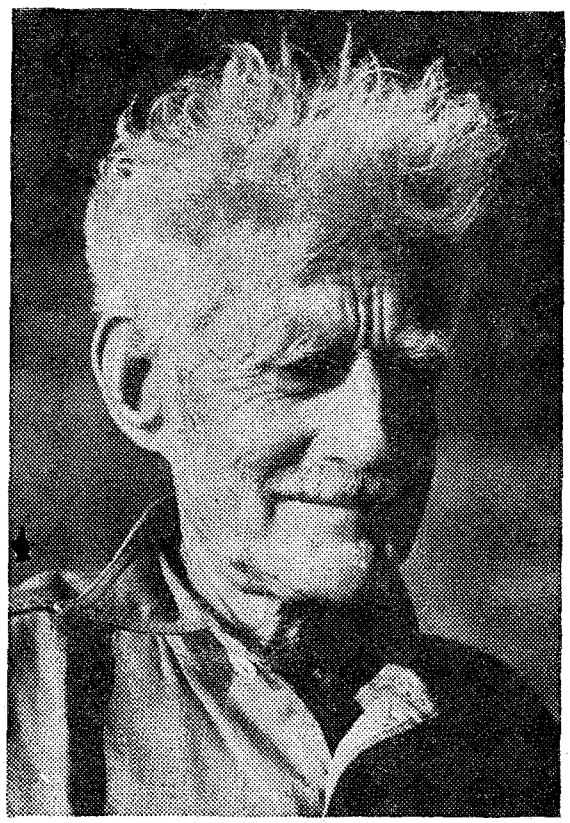
CANADIAN?

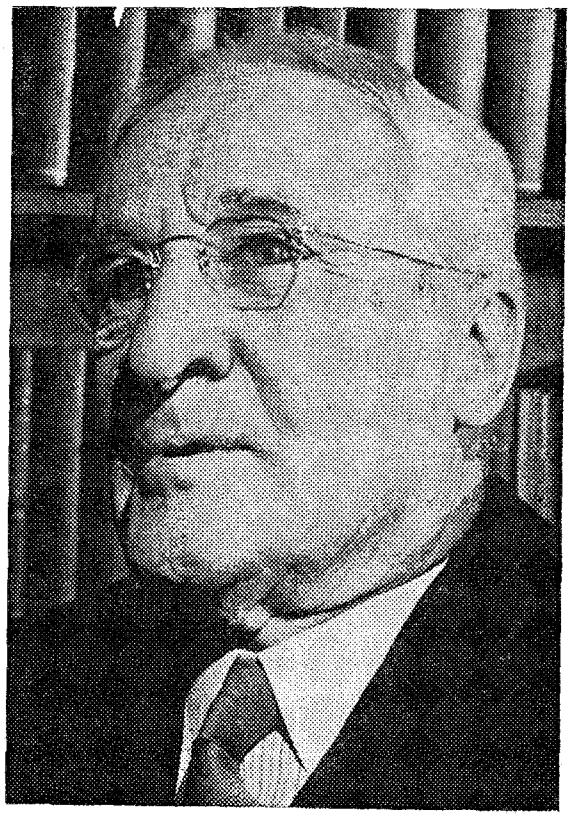
LIONEL GELBER

with it but with it alone. It was natural enough for a remote, pioneer society to become provincial. Less clear is the point at which provincialism in Canada began to contest the authenticity of other, broader standards and to erect as a yardstick its own.

For while she grew economically and internationally, Canada, until of late, gave little serious attention to the less tangible features of her national life. With the opening of the West and the North, the accent again had to be on the concrete and the mundane. And the effect of that may have been similar to its effect on 19th century New England whose settled creative society was submerged in part by the rising tide of industrialism, in part by the frontier's cultural and social backwash. Among Canadians there has, at any rate, been an insistence that all conform to a widespread pattern of the average or mediocre, a subconscious intolerance of individuality, a fear of distinction, a bias against the subtle, the cosmopolitan or unique. Perhaps, too, this pedestrian mentality owed some of its vigor to those older rural and semi-rural centers, a number of whose sons over the years had made their way in the larger cities and who often brought to them not only the physical and moral energy of many small towns but also a touch of insularity.

IN a *milieu* of that sort, Canada's own thinkers, scholars, writers, and artists were bound to have a hard furrow to plough—although a few painters and novelists, even without winning fame abroad, fared well enough. Canadians, as they inclined toward conformity, were apt to demand that all be alike, like themselves; and it was taken for granted that, if all are like themselves, creative potentialities will not be excessive. Distrust of individuality in Canada may have sprung from self-distrust; reluctance to appreciate the imponderables might have been a kind of self-depreciation. To a visiting exponent of these from below the border or





WHO IS A "CANADIAN"?
Prospector Douglas, who lives near Yellowknife, old timer, geologist and mining engineer —or Canada's first ambassador to the U. S., Leighton McCarthy?

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across the Atlantic an authority therefore was sometimes attached which came less from a verified superiority of merit and more from that unfamiliarity which bred no contempt.

And for all those reasons Canadians, whose talents lay in spheres where mass taste does not prevail, had to turn first to New York, to London or to Paris if they were not to wither in an atmosphere which was grudging or in which magnanimity was scarce. Native achievement in Canada could rely less on that special loyalty, without or prior to general recognition, which is usual elsewhere, and when a decision about it might no longer be avoided, Canadians preferred the opinion of others to their own uncertainties. And that this attitude was materialist in nature is plain; medicine and science, which confer direct utilitarian benefits, enjoyed great prestige. Persons following the humanities and kindred liberal pursuits at most Canadian universities have been given no incentive and have been shown scant regard for contributions that were fresh in thought or original in scholarship. So, too, the failure of most large Canadian fortunes to endow learning and the arts displayed, in an accepted scale of material values, that same meagerness of warmth and generosity.

Of provincialism such as this another example was the reaction of some Canadian intellectuals to post-graduate work in England. Before 1939 only a small number of those who studied abroad could have been Rhodes Scholars or even Oxford men; toward Britain and the British Commonwealth most of these, moreover, were left well-disposed. It is, nevertheless, a fact that a minority of expatriates, later conspicuous as politicians and government officials, as diplomatists and professors, did return to Canada soured in sentiment. Inequalities between units of the British Commonwealth had been declining in practice long before the equalizing Statute of Westminster was enacted in 1931. Many of these intellectuals, even those of an older generation in whom the gesture had become a habit, were kicking therefore at an open door. At all events the banner under which they marched was not one of a Canadian nationalism which is self-determined. Recoiling from an imagined subordination to British influence, they flung themselves ideologically under the influences of the United States. And though that was the quarter where Canada, ever since the attainment of self-government, had been treated with more inequality than anywhere else, they moved—somewhat humorlessly—closer to it.

WHY did this happen? Was it due to a lack of resiliency, to a stiffness of personality often characteristic of the provincial, among the aggrieved intellectuals themselves? Consider the graduates of a generation or two ago who arrived in London or at the older English Universities from homes, towns, cities, schools and colleges in which the graces were rural or semi-rural, austerely Puritan and severely middle-class. Without warning they were catapulted, raw, naive and tense, into an environment in which social origins were mixed but whose sophistication, whose deceptive air of world-weary decadence, had been borrowed from an upper-class which was at once ripe, Olympian and casual. And so while the English might have perceived that their Canadian contemporaries were earnest, they probably also found them dull.

For the snubs administered and the lasting resentments thus incurred, the price paid by the British in intra-Imperial relations has been high. Provincialism of every kind must fade, however, with the mood or circumstances which produced it. For it is not an irremediable fault. As inner self-confidence develops, as Canada assumes in world politics a less junior rank, provincialism is clearly on the wane.

But the desire has been voiced for some broader and more positive means of identification, one which stamps the Canadian as a Canadian everywhere, automatically and at once. Yet if he does not get one, is he, as has been suggested, doomed to wander to and fro on the face of the earth, a lost soul, the latest version of the man without a shadow? The query, of course, is absurd. No mere lack of an outer label could reduce the Canadian to so feeble a plight. It would be better to have one; from its absence Canadians will not suffer unduly. For more and more, as their provincialism dissolves, it will be realized that there is no one single means of identification but many.

Within the upper half of the continent and as conditioned by its history and geography, a Canadian is a blend of the new, the North American, with the old, the British, the French, the European. For it is from threads diverse in color, not from one drab monotonous hue, that the national fabric is woven. Back and forth the loom works ceaselessly. There is no single Canadian type because each Canadian person-

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ality combines the various strands in his background in varying proportions. Multiple in their characteristics, pluralistic in their expressions of culture—that is what Canadians must expect to be.

But while their national types differ from each other, they are marked off from a wholly distinct array of other national types. And below any divergencies of the moment which the separate elements within Canada herself may manifest, there is a deep, unifying awareness of the fact that they are Canadians.

Should that awareness be seized upon, brought to light and dramatized? Perhaps it is their provincialism which has made them poor in showmanship; perhaps with less distrust in themselves as Canadians they might be less reticent about their collective emotions. For in the long run it is not by outer signs that men are identified but by what they are at heart. A Canadian is, or was, an inhabitant of Canada who became one by birth or by choice, and who wants to be one.

IT IS, however, contended by some that to maintain the connection between Canada and France is to debar a robust Canadianism from learning to stand on its own feet. The opposite may be the case. For Canada dwells on no desert isle enjoying entire autonomy of the spirit but next door to a giant, friendly yet imperious, whose sway in culture, in politics and in economics she cannot resist alone. Her equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations she interprets in terms of her own security and the world's freedom. Yet within it there are bonds of allegiance, custom, government, law and culture which Canadians must conserve if only as an offset, a counterpoise to pressure from the south—one which the war in most spheres has not relaxed but strengthened.

To that partnership, to those bonds, may be attributed by both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians much of their survival either together or as separate entities within a common fold. And having once thrown off a cumbrous, old-fashioned overseas colonialism, they will scarcely wish to submit now to a modern, streamlined, continental one. For Canada's national independence is not weighed down by the British factor in her life but on the contrary is provided by it with an essential balance.

And in furthering that national independence stress must be laid as much on her world as on her North American interests. While some Canadian intellectuals, politicians and officials pushed the latter to the fore, the limited, semi-isolationist, hemisphere view was seldom more than their own homespun provincialism magnified and writ large. And as that provincialism diminishes, the foreign policy it bred must correspondingly recede.

Cast unhesitatingly aside in both of the supreme crises of modern society, it never was fundamental. One test distinguishing Canadians from Americans may in fact be what they do, how they have behaved at junctures such as those. Twice they have occurred and twice the response has at first been dissimilar. Canadians did not await a direct attack. Long before the mass of Americans, they awoke in both Great Wars to the reality of the peril; to the outcome for them, and their kind of world, should Britain and France lose their power forever. They may have wondered no less whether, with the British Commonwealth beaten and wrenched apart, they would not be swallowed up in the still expanding empire of the United States; whether, among the aims Canadians might vindicate at sea, in the skies and on the battlefields of Europe, was not their own national independence in North America. But, be that as it may, if Canadians had been exclusively North American in interest, they need never have struck a single blow before the United States. They struck many. For they are men of 1914 and not 1917, men of 1939 and not 1941.

ABOUT this, it is true, not all were of one mind. The equilibrium which existed between the English-speaking majority and the French-speaking minority had had the effect of keeping the two groups away from each other; of erecting walls between them; of confirming and not breaking down their respective provincialisms. Yet during both wars their quarrel over conscription was one of means rather than ends; not for or against a contribution by Canada —that had been decided at the outset—but over its method and extent. Partial instead of total participation was what Quebec in general, disregarding some who toyed with Fascist and Petainist doctrine, really sought. And as its own special brand of Gallic provincialism appeared, even amidst the agony of Christendom, to be more obdurate than that of its neighbors, it tended to becloud the valiant role the best of its young blood was playing.

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Results count. Canadians of every race and creed mustered strength to earn for themselves, by the timeliness, by the effectiveness and by the comparative size of their exertions in war, a new stature in peace.

After Dunkerque in 1940 and until Russia and later the United States were engaged, Canada, during freedom's blackest year, was Britain's principal ally. And this startling fact indicated the rise of Canada to a higher position in world politics. It was, he declared, no longer that of a minor but rather that of a middle power, a Britannic Power of middle rank.

On the eve of the San Francisco Security Conference this stress on the middle rank entered into current debate. Taken over by the Canadian and other Governments, the concept underlying it was embodied in the Charter (article 23) of the United Nations Organization. It is in accordance with it that Canada in the future will steer her course.

She has moved far from that semi-isolationist temper in which successive governments tried to water down or elude the security arrangements of the last peace settlement and oppose additions to them. For on the Canadian scene an outmoded provincialism in the conduct of foreign policy has been retiring to the rear—and hoping perhaps that none would discern its flight. But that retreat should be noted, external affairs being one of the realms in which Canada's provincialism has been most prevalent; the one domain where the provincialism of English-speaking and French-speaking Canada was prone to converge. Since 1939 the change has been significant. For the larger commitments and wider reach of Middle-Power-Canada seem to rest upon a solid base of popular assent.

To reconcile their new world position with their own anxieties about their common future is now for Canadians a major task. It will not be easy to do; it can and must be done. For the simple paradox of Middle-Power-Canada, a clue to understanding which explains much, is that she has come of age before her growing pains are at an end.

PEACE BY PIECES

by

LYMAN C. WHITE

—an expert speaks and makes a valuable suggestion to all organizations which can be expanded internationally

OVER a thousand international organizations were operating before the war and they dealt with practically every subject of interest to mankind from theology to the Olympic Games, from child welfare to astronomy, from cancer to the position of labor, and from aviation to progressive education.* In spite of war, depression and fascism these organizations were increasing in numbers, activities and achievements for many years. They will no doubt soon take up their work again even more actively than in the past. About nine-tenths of them are private or unofficial in character, that is, composed of individuals or groups of different countries who support a common organization for the purpose of promoting a common interest. The remainder are composed of governments.**

It is through these organizations that world unity is daily being prepared, and even put into practice. It may be world unity in relation to statistics, to automobile racing, to the nomenclature of chemistry, to preventing interference in radio broadcasting, to safety at sea, to the protection of native peoples, to settling disputes between business men of different countries, or to any other human interest.

A few concrete examples of the work of private international organizations may be suggestive as to exactly how such organizations

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promote common interests.

For instance, it is becoming an increasingly common practice for private international organizations to etsablish procedures and institutions for the settlement of disputes between individuals, businesses, or groups of different countries. The most important of the many private institutions for international commercial arbitration is the Court of Arbitration of the International Chamber of Commerce which has dealt with about 700 cases since its establishment in 1923.

This court was set up because of the very considerable difficulties faced by business men when they resorted to law suits to settle their commercial disputes with business men of other nations. Before proceeding to arbitration the Court generally endeavors to settle the dispute by conciliation; about 80% of the cases are settled in this manner. The average costs of arbitration have amounted to only 1.2% of the amounts involved. The writer was informed that there have never been any complaints as to either the expense or the impartiality and competence of the arbitrators. Even in those few cases where a party refused to accept the decision, the national court concerned has (with one exception) enforced the arbitration decision. This is but one of the numerous ways in which business men of various countries have found it advantageous to work together.

THE International Astronomical Union coordinates the work of many observatories throughout the world. It works through thirty-one commissions each dealing with a special problem. The necessity for cooperation in astronomy arises from the vastness of the subject (a thousand million stars might be photographed and some fifty million stellar systems of extra-galactic nebulae are observable). The Union is carrying on the work of mapping the skies (the *Carte du Ciel*) on which twenty observatories are working. Through its "Plan of Selected Areas" detailed attention is given to 252 particular areas with fifteen observatories cooperating. The apparent motions of about 100,000 stars are being determined by widely scattered observatories. This work is coordinated by the Union. Sometimes the need for a continuous record makes cooperation indispensable. Such is the case for the study of the chromospheric eruptions of the sun and the study of the connection of solar with terrestrial phenomena. Sixteen observatories are cooperating on this, each being assigned a definite time at which to make its observations. The International Astronomical Union is only one of the many international organizations which concern themselves with almost every science.

The World Association for Adult Education maintains a Bureau of Information which collects information from all over the world. In this way interesting ideas are quickly passed from one nation to another. For instance, details of the New Zealand Book Box Scheme were supplied to an American adult educational body; information on continuation schools and other post-primary education was prepared for a Parliamentary Committee in Finland; the Principal of a Law College in India, anxious to inspire his students to take up adult education in their spare time, was given information and letters of introduction for Austria and Switzerland. Hundreds of other examples might be given of how international organizations facilitate the exchange of knowledge on a very wide range of subjects and thus constitute a powerful instrument for man's advancement.

The League of Red Cross Societies, through its international secretariat, conferences, publications, and visits of its experts has stimulated and aided the establishment and development of first aid and home-nursing classes, health lectures, child welfare centers, training courses for nurses, anti-malarial and anti-tuberculosis dispensaries and sanatoria and other health activities by its national member Societies in many countries. There exist some fifty or more international organizations, official or private, which attack the problem of improving the world's health from almost every conceivable angle.

The international organizations in the field of religion constitute a large and important group. The Catholic Church, the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, the Salvation Army, and the World Council of Churches immediately come to mind. These organizations have made converts, established national member societies, strengthened the faith of believers, and have concerned themselves with many international, social and humanitarian problems. They have done this by organizing international conferences, preparing religious literature, giving financial assistance, and sending out religious workers.

MANY private international organizations deal directly with the problems of international relations. They carry on influential research and publication programs, bring together students of international affairs for exchange of views, endeavor to build up public support for the great official international organizations, and

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work to secure constructive action from them.

In most cases private international organizations have been the first to deal with problems of international concern. Many times they have thus prepared the way for official action. They have frequently played an important part in the creation of official international organizations. A good example would be the work of the various private international congresses which led to the calling of the first official international labor congress in 1890. Another would be the work of the International Association for Labor Legislation which originated the ideas for the first international treaty for the protection of workers (the Franco-Italian treaty of 1904) and prepared the way for the first official conferences for the conclusion of international labor conventions (Berne, 1905, 1906, and 1913). The International Labor Organization set up by the Peace Conference of 1919 was obviously a further step in this movement for international labor legislation begun by private international organizations many years before.

All human interests have an increasingly international aspect. To establish peace we must first discover the existence of these common interests and then devote ourselves to their promotion. By doing that we will not only accomplish many useful services for the world and ourselves, but we will also gain world unity and lasting peace. For peace is a by-product to be obtained not by frontal attacks on war and its causes, but by the flanking movements of developing our common interests. This will build up the habit of cooperation.

The process is like that which happens within nations by the creation and development of national organizations (business, political, governmental, social, educational and so on through the whole gamut of human interests) each drawing its power from individuals or organizations scattered throughout the country. By this process the interests of the individuals or groups in any particular political or geographical subdivision become so intertwined with interests of a national character that any strife between one geographical section and another becomes "unthinkable." In other words, the relative importance of interests organized on a strictly geographical basis become almost insignificant compared with the importance of the interests organized on a national basis. Thus the basis of any conflict is transferred to national groups representing all sorts of functional interests—they can't organize to fight each other, so conflict between them takes place only on the political level. Until this process is well developed civil war is possible. We would not have had a Civil War in the United States if the railroads had run north and south instead of east and west, if trade between the North and South had been more developed, and if the process of the organization of interests on a national basis rather than a sectional basis had been more fully developed. It is just that process, which has advanced so rapidly since 1865, that now fully unifies our nation. We must rely on the same process of peace by pieces to unify the world.

The organization of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is an important step in the right direction. It is through this Council that the United Nations will cooperate with the International Labor Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and other specialized international organizations such as those dealing with health, education, and aviation. The Charter also provides that the Council may make arrangements for consultation with private international organizations. This machinery can be developed into a great center working to promote the solution of our common problems and for the development of our common interests.

The world is like a nation in that the common interests of the individuals living in it are so much greater than their conflicting interests. The advantages of cooperation are even greater. These are great truths. If the peace movement will emphasize these truths and show people how they can in specific ways benefit from organized cooperation, the process of peace by pieces can be greatly accelerated.

* * *

* See *Handbook of International Organizations*, published by the League of Nations, 1938, covering 650 organizations; *Handbook of International Organizations* in the Americas, by Ruth D. Masters and others, 1945, covering 109 organizations; *The Structure of Private International Organizations*, 1933, by the writer. The writer, who has visited the headquarters of about 200 international organizations, has now nearly completed *Private International Organizations in World Affairs* dealing with their activities and accomplishments in economic affairs, labor, arts and sciences, education, health, religion, social and humanitarian work, sport, international relations, and their relations among themselves and with official international organizations.

** A few private international organizations are listed here as examples: International Chamber of Commerce, International Federation of Trade Unions, International Cooperative Alliance, International Red Cross, World Power Conference, World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, Inter-Parliamentary Union, International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, Institute of Pacific Relations, Rotary International, Salvation Army, International Council of Scientific Unions, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Boy Scouts' International Bureau, and the International Olympic Games Committee.

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WORLD TRAVEL

FROM MEXICO CITY THROUGH MAYALAND AND GUATEMALA

During the past months FREE WORLD *has pictured a number of opportunities open to the world travellers as well as his responsibilities as an "ambassador of good will." This month our travel editor invites the tourist to come with him along planned routes in Mexico and Guatemala.*

LEAVING Mexico City on our travels through the Western Hemisphere, our sights turn momentarily southward for a 250-mile motor trip over three mountain ranges. First stop Cuernavaca, a popular vacation spot, especially on week-ends, with an ideal climate and beautiful scenery and well known for its famous Diego Rivera murals. Thence to Taxco, nestling in the heart of rugged mountains, which has been preserved by the Mexican Government as a typical colonial town, a perfect setting for the student, writer or painter. From Taxco there are 160 miles more to Acapulco, on the Pacific coast. There are excellent hotels all along the route. Acapulco, the oldest port on the North American Pacific coast, has played an important part in the development of the country and is now the Juan-les-Pins or the Balearic Islands of this hemisphere—magnificent beaches and excellent sail-fish deep sea fishing. You will meet mostly the same type of people that were attracted to the more fashionable Mediterranean resorts, but the surf and the tropical scenery are above personalities. There is incidentally, a three-times-daily air service between Mexico City and Acapulco, reducing the trip to 1¼ hours.

Eastbound toward the isthmus of Tehuantepec, preferably by air from Acapulco or Mexico City—there is also railroad service from the capital—our next stop is Oaxaca, famous for its pottery and textiles, and as the center of the Zapotec and Mixtec civilizations of which the archaeological zones of Mitla and Monte Alban are worth the trip alone.

Near Oaxaca there is a federal normal school, similar to the well known one at Oaxtépec south of the volcano Popocatépetl, where teachers are trained for the all-important job of penetrating rural districts and supplanting folkways of superstition and primitive leanings with modern agricultural and social knowledge. There is still the problem of teaching the 50 different Indian tribes to read and write in their own languages before graduating them to the learning of Spanish.

Approaching Guatemala, a stop should be made at Tehuantepec where the tribal customs of the Tehuana Indians give great prominence to the female of the species who are renowned for their beauty and dress. There are many fiesta days in Tehuantepec, the principal celebration being in honor of Saint John the Baptist from June 22 to 25th. However, here the hotels are on the more primitive side compared with the good hostels at Oaxaca.

BEFORE leaving Mexico we must look toward the peninsula of Yucatán, long isolated by lack of communications from the outside world and federal progressiveness. Even today some of the opposition to the advances made by Mexico's social revolution can be felt in Yucatán and the neighboring states of the peninsula. Yet here again the village schools reflect the strides made to seek the realization of Mexico's new citizenship, begun with the Madero uprising in 1910 and long misunderstood and frowned upon by official quarters and individuals in the United States. As President Camacho said in his inaugural address, Mexico no longer goes through "Revolution, but Evolution."

Steamship service to the port of Progreso will probably be resumed soon, but you will go to Yucatán now and tomorrow by the excellent air services linking Mérida, the capital, with New Orleans in 3½ hours, with Miami in 5

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hours, and with Mexico City in 5 hours. Indeed, Mérida is at the crossroads of the international air lanes connecting the United States with Guatemala and the other Central American capitals and with the Canal Zone and points south.

Mérida is the starting point for a "must" visit to the Mayan Cities of Chichén-Itzá and Uxmal, 77 and 49 miles distant respectively by road. The celebrated ruins of the once sacred city of the Mayas at Chichén-Itzá are the most beautiful and extensive in Mexico. They are within walking distance of a series of comfortable bungalows designed in native style, but with all the modern comforts, providing an excellent setting not only for those who are primarily interested in the ruins, but for those who seek relaxation because of the restful atmosphere and the intimate appeal of the simple, tasteful appointments.

The ride from Mérida to the ruins takes the visitor through interesting scenes from henequén plantations, one of the main economic activities in Yucatán, to quaint villages where one can see the descendants of the Mayas at work and at play. The weird jungle becomes more and more apparent as the car reaches the site of the ruins and the sudden view of these imposing structures in a clearing is most impressive.

Here one wanders among the ruins at leisure, or under the guidance of competent and cultured native cicerones.

ANOTHER most interesting place is the Ball Court, which is noted for its extraordinary acoustics. This is where the rival teams had to throw a ball through a ring of stone in a game probably resembling basketball, but where the penalty to the losing team was the loss of the head of its captain, a scene realistically depicted on a relief mural. There are countless other buildings and for those who wish to stroll a little further away, there is a natural cistern, deep below the rocks with impressive dark and still waters, once the sacred well of the Mayas.

The city of Mérida itself is interesting and there is a recently constructed comfortable hotel there at which many travelers spend at least one night in order to stroll around this delightful city with its tree shaded avenues and white houses and windmills used for pumping water from deep wells. The collection of Mayan relics at Yucateco Museum is interesting.

There are some other ruins at Uxmal which can be visited in a day's trip from Mérida where of particular interest are the well preserved buildings of the Temple of the Prophet crowning a great pyramid, from which a beautiful panorama is obtained; the House of the Governor of this once aristocratic center, the House of the Nuns and the House of the Old Women.

ONCE the traveler has tasted the colorful scenery of Mayan habitats in Mexico, it is difficult to resist a short flight over to Guatemala City built on a plateau at the climate-perfect altitude of 4800 feet. This is the starting point for more fascinating trips into Mayaland. Only a few years ago Guatemala City emerged from a sleepy colonial town to become one of the most active centers in Central America and it is from this capital city, where there are several comfortable hotels, that one starts out into the interior to visit one of the richest regions of this hemisphere in physical beauty—with lakes and volcanos galore; in the picturesqueness and variety of its inhabitants, and in its many archaeological remains.

Here is another country which welcomes U. S. citizens without their having to secure a passport. This will, of course, prove extremely beneficial to Guatemala's foreign trade.

Steamship service has not yet been resumed to Puerto Barrios, the principal Caribbean port, but the ubiquitous air lines will get you from New Orleans to Guatemala City in eight hours via Mérida; from Mexico City the air trip to Guatemala takes six hours, the fares being respectively $86 and $57. The best hotels in Guatemala City charge from $6 to $10 daily for room and bath and three meals.

On the way to Santo Tomás from Chichicastenango a stop is made at Antigua, the first capital of Guatemala, destroyed by an earthquake in 1773 and once known under the incredible name to Anglo Saxon ears of "La Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala." From there one goes to Chimaltenango on the Continental Divide and through Chichhoy Pass at 10,000 feet into the heart of the Quiché Mayan country. The return trip is usually made via Sololá overlooking Lake Atitlán, the bluest of blues, where overnight stops can be made at a couple of inns with comfortable accommodations.

For the student of pre-Colombian culture visits can also be made slightly off the beaten track, to the ruins of Tayasal, Quiriguá and Uaxactún, highly representative of the civilization of the Mayas which reached its peak between the fourth and seventh centuries A. D. and extended from Honduras into Yucatán.

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THEATER

Uncompromising Liberals on Broadway

STATE OF THE UNION
Produced by Leland Hayward; at the Hudson Theatre.

THE RUGGED PATH
Produced by The Playwrights' Company; at the Plymouth Theatre.

During the past month two new plays have arrived on Broadway from the pens of dramatists of distinction, two hits in a season so far notable for its dearth of success and the material for success. And significantly neither one is an escapist drama. That is the news of the month from New York. *State of the Union* by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse has opened, and Spencer Tracy has returned to the stage after a fifteen-year absence to appear in Robert Sherwood's *The Rugged Path.*

There is a kinship between Sherwood's hero, Morey Vinion, and Grant Matthews, the Lindsay and Crouse protangonist. Both Morey and Grant are enlightened and embattled liberals; both are determined to make American democracy work and force America to assume her rightful responsibilities in the world; both are admirable men; both are uncompromising. That is their principal common characteristic. Refusal to compromise gives rise to the crisis of each play.

State of the Union is the story of a big airplane manufacturer whose straight-from-the-shoulder tactics and words bring him (with the aid of a powerful woman publisher who is also his mistress) to the attention of the leaders of the Republican party as a possible presidential candidate against Truman in 1948. In the course of an exploratory cross-country speaking tour, on which his wife is persuaded to accompany him in order to allay any possible domestic scandal, Grant Matthews speaks his mind honestly and eloquently about the social and political problems of today. But more importantly for him (and for the audience) he discovers that the American political undercover game can only be played today according to the rules of the political undercover men; that compromises are necessary to vote-getting. Although on the brink of acceding to compromise with his liberal tenets, a last-minute reconversion to his own first principles saves his personal integrity (and reunites him, incidentally, with his wife), although it may, one feels, have cost him the nomination.

The play does not add up to being quite as cynical as this brief summary may have suggested. It is, in fact, less so than Maxwell Anderson's Pulitzer Prize play of a dozen years ago, *Both Your Houses.* It has this advantage over Mr. Anderson's play and over its movie version, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington,* in that it names names and states instances. There is something refreshing and certainly immediate in hearing Republicans and Democrats called that, in hearing specific references to Stassen and Willkie, Truman and Connolly and Bilbo. Over their political satire Messrs. Lindsay and Crouse have poured enough sunny humor to allow one to label the evening "fun". Their attitude is not so bitterly disillusioned as to cause them to cry "a plague o' both your houses"; it is better exemplified in the exchange between two characters, one of whom remarks: "After all, what difference is there between the two parties any more?" "Every difference: the Democrats are in and we're out!"

This good humor, combined with great slickness in the direction of Bretaigne Windust and the playing of Ralph Bellamy, Ruth Hussey, Myron McCormick, Minor Watson and Kay Johnson, combined, too, with the quick-witted dialogue and absolute sureness of craftsmanship that Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Crouse always bring to their work, make *State of the Union* successful Broadway showmanship.

Robert Sherwood has attempted more and accomplished less than Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse. Or perhaps it would be better to

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say that Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Crouse have provided what was expected of them and that Mr. Sherwood has not. The point is that the latter is one of our outstanding dramatists who has had the enviable opportunity since we last heard from him in the theater of being an intimate of the White House throughout the war years, and in consequence of being in a position, if anyone ever was, to understand the great conflict in all its implications and in all its ramifications. To him of all American playwrights we should look for a lead into the postwar world.

Instead, Mr. Sherwood has written a confused and uncertain play. His story of a liberal newspaper editor spends the first half of its time in the pre-Pearl Harbor days of the isolationist and interventionist conflict. That conflict may still be raging under other guises, but Mr. Sherwood is content to leave it against its 1941 background.

The hero of *State of the Union* faced the problem of whether to compromise with the big-league politicians in 1945 and 1946. The editor hero of *The Rugged Path* faced the problem of whether to compromise with his reactionary publishers in 1941. The very fact that Lindsay and Crouse are concerned with a situation happening this year and next, whereas Sherwood's problem was resolved four years ago, somehow gives an importance and immediacy to the former that the latter lacks; it becomes merely familiar history.

There is another perhaps significant difference between the two plays. The decision in *State of the Union* is made at the final curtain and when the answer is "no compromise", one feels that Grant Matthews has just begun the fight. The decision in *The Rugged Path,* on the other hand, comes at the half-way point in the play. What happens in consequence of it, we see for ourselves. Vinion, faced with his bosses' unwillingness to back his editorial favoring lend-lease to Russia, throws up the whole thing and joins the Navy to become a ship's cook. One is supposed, I presume, to applaud the hero for deciding to substitute action for talk, but the fact remains that in the second half of the play, in which are described Vinion's days first on a destroyer and subsequently with a guerrilla band in the Philippines where he loses his life, the action seems purposeless and the conclusion inconclusive. The decision not to compromise leads nowhere—except to an anonymous grave. The result is that one leaves the theater dissatisfied and disheartened.

It has been said that the very fact that Mr. Sherwood was so close to the President and knows so much more than the average citizen about our present-day world problems made it impossible for him to write about them while still at such close range. It is possible to sympathize with this point of view, but one feels bound to say then that, that being the case, Mr. Sherwood should not have tried to write what he obviously considered a serious and timely play at all until enough time had elapsed so that he could give it the treatment it deserved at his hands. This would have deprived New York of an exceedingly good performance by Spencer Tracy this season, but it would have been more satisfactory to Mr. Sherwood's admirers. It is possible to expect, however, that Robert Sherwood's real play about America at war is yet to come. I for one look forward to it.

STRANGE FRUIT

produced by Jose Ferrer, at the Royale Theatre.

Aside from *State of the Union* and *The Rugged Path,* the past month on Broadway has offered little to encourage the theatergoer who looks for stimulation from the stage. Much had been hoped for from *Strange Fruit* and one must congratulate Mr. Ferrer on producing this honest treatment of the race problem in America. Perhaps someone other than Lillian Smith, author of the best-selling novel from which the play was made, should have done the dramatization. Then the diffuseness which weakened the impact of a strong and moving social drama might have been avoided. As it was, one felt that one was looking at life in a Southern town through the lens of a wide angle, slow-motion camera. The play apparently intended to do more than tell of the ill-fated love of a white boy for a colored girl in Georgia. Mr. Ferrer and Miss Smith quite wisely wished to place the individual tragedy against the larger panorama of the Southern social and racial conflict. It is unfortunate that they did not exercise stricter selectivity and use a sharper focus in unfolding their picture; unfortunate that the scenes were not either more passionately persuasive or else more genuinely emotional.

Comparison with this season's earlier and highly successful *Deep Are the Roots* is inevitable. It must be said that *Strange Fruit* was less phony, less contrived, less melodramatic; it was also, unfortunately, less exciting, less moving, less persuasive. One left *Strange Fruit,* as one left *The Rugged Path,* dissatisfied and disheartened.

NORRIS HOUGHTON

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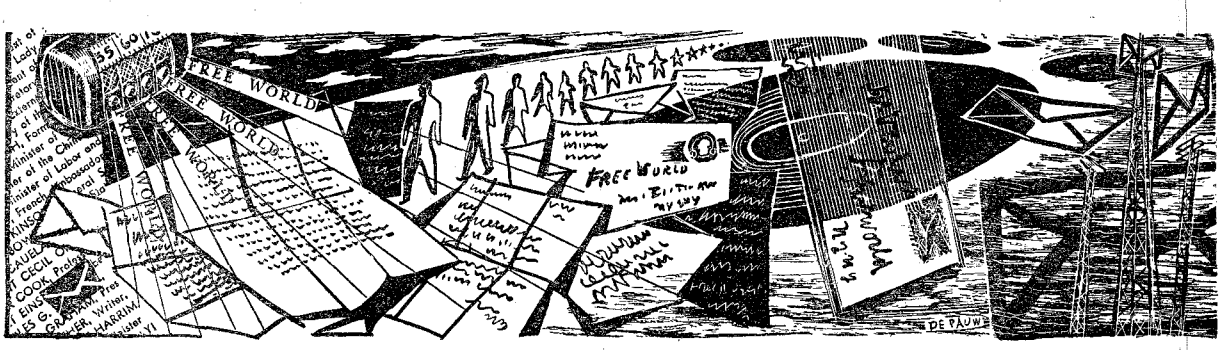

FREE SPEECH

AND LETTERS FROM READERS

University of the World

In this critical period of world history, when close cooperation between all peoples and nations is paramount, would it not be of infinite value toward the realization of our dreams and efforts to establish an International University? This University of the World would be staffed, attended, and supported by all nations.

The Three Nation Declaration pertaining to atomic energy favors "extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends." Certainly there could be no better aid in accomplishing this than through the media of an International University.

I believe that through such an institution the peoples of the world would be brought together in an ever increasing understanding of all fields of human endeavor, tradition, and thought.

HOWARD L. MCVITTY
Garden City, New York.

Earlier World Government Meetings

It is grand to see from your November issue that you recognize the urgency of world government in the atomic era, but your claim that the Dublin Conference was the first conference on world government is extreme. . . . Chicago saw a conference in 1914 which came out in favor of international federation. New Hampshire was the site of an earlier conference on world government in August of this year—a conference held at World Fellowship Center, Conway, N. H., called by the Campaign for World Government.

GEORGIA LLOYD
Chicago, Illinois.

Who Shall Be First?

The UNO Council will consist of 11 members—the Big Five, and six other powers. I should like to ask FREE WORLD readers whom they favor as the first six rotating members?

BERNARD SINSHEIMER, JR.
Hollywood, California.

Ripe For World Government

It was with intense interest that I read your highly commendable editorial on WORLD GOVERNMENT vs NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, in the October issue of FREE WORLD. You are doing splendid work in the right direction. You deserve the warmest congratulations.

The world is ripe for a universal system of government and despite existing unrest as the aftermath of World War II, present circumstances are undoubtedly favorable. World government is the only instrument that will give all peoples of the earth a uniform standard of social welfare and security. Short of that, war will never be outlawed. . . .

P. LEMIEUX
Montreal, Canada.

For World Brotherhood

I appreciate the good work your magazine and writers are doing to make the United Nations Charter a success. We as an organization do all we can to urge Congress to work for world brotherhood.

REV. M. J. DOAN
Chicago.
First Christian Forum of Chicago.

Stain on Our Escutcheon?

FREE WORLD for November 1945 commits a dual sin in its presentation of the Palestinian question: It degenerates the issue to a level of "refugeeism," without regard to the legitimate historic and legal right of the Jews to their National Homeland; and, much worse, it opens its pages to a spokesman of the Arab League—the organization of the nations which openly aided and abetted, sometimes by actual military force, the cause of German Nazism and Italian Fascism. This is a stain which will long remain on FREE WORLD's escutcheon.

ABBA H. SALZMAN
Chicago, Illinois.

(In furnishing a free forum to Dr. Nahum Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress, and Abdel Rahman Azzam Bey of the Arab League, FREE WORLD sought to present two of the main viewpoints existing today on the Palestine question. This was in conformity with its policy of free expression of thought on all issues. The Editors.)

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Jews as World Citizens

I do not favor treating Jews or any other peoples as groups. There has already been too much of this clanishness, separation, segregation and isolation into religious, racial or national groups. What is to me most important and desirable is loss of this separate identity as a group and absorption into the larger world group as individuals. We are trying so hard to develop a feeling of international world brotherhood and citizenship as a necessary preconditioning to the establishment of a world government. Why then inconsistently perpetuate separate identity by treating Jews, or any others, as groups instead of individual world citizens seeking a place to live, not in any one specific location, but anywhere such a place can be found in any part of the world? Why force the Arab portion of the world to open their doors to them to the exclusion of other parts of the world? Why try so hard to set up a new nation—the Jewish state—when we are at the same time trying so hard to minimize statehood in favor of a wider conception, namely, allegiance to a world state?

I sincerely believe that if we hope ever to see a world government develop and become a reality, we, ourselves, must largely cease thinking of ourselves as Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, Russians, Poles, Italians, Chinese, or Jews. . . . It is much the same as our present attitude toward our own state and our national government. We are Americans before we are New Yorkers or even Texans. This is something very hard to arrive at and it probably will take generations before realization is complete, but there is nothing to prevent us from being sincere and consistent in our beginning endeavors toward that worthy end.

W. C. WEBER

Bridgeport, Conn.

"All-Consuming Monster"

In the light of the atomic bombing the war in Europe and in the Pacific assumes the proportions of haggard knights fencing with shattered lances. Can there even be a grim joy in the war's end being thrust rapidly into culmination because of this most efficient of all means of mass murder and devastation? I would have preferred that the war had lasted another year . . . even two or three . . . than to have its end sound the birth of an all-consuming monster. I would gladly give my life if such were the price for the destruction of the atomic bomb and all knowledge pertaining to it. I would joyfully submit myself to the most horrible of deaths.

AN ENSIGN

A Single Master Idea

Among the ideas used in atomic fission there may await discovery a skeleton-key idea capable of unlocking secrets in both nuclear physics and human psychology, thus disclosing an unbroken connection or umbilical cord between atom and idea.

The climax would be the bringing together into a critical mass the world's most revered ideas to form a single master idea or system of philosophy. Possessed of the nuclear powers of such ideas as the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, the Classes of The Republic, the Theory of Evolution, Pragmatism, Instrumentalism, the Four Freedoms and the Theory of Relativity instead of merely their chemical potentialities, we could afford to direct our attention from groping to remove the warhead from the atomic bomb to cracking the ultra code of Mars himself.

ERSKINE WILLIAMS

Henderson, Ky.

"Critical" Thinking

I think we could use a little more critical thinking about some of the "democratic" nations. Take for instance Germany. The Weimar Republic had a pretty hard stand to get any concessions. As soon as Hitler came to power, he just about got everything he asked for. Now suppose a new German Government is formed, including men from center to left. If we do not give that Government any assistance, demand reparations galore, take out the heavy industry and other assorted industries, leaving just an agricultural land, setting Germany back about a century, do we expect the German people to flock to that Government and support it? I am afraid it won't work.

Anyhow, it is easy to say the whole German people is guilty. The Nazi party tried its best to involve them all, to enable a fight to the finish. Is it not more humane, more realistic and more progressive to bring other nations up to the highest standard of any nation in Europe, instead of bringing down the standard of a defeated nation to that of the lowest in Europe?

SGT. FREDERICK L. ANKER

Ft. Bragg, N. C.

G.I. In Germany

Here in Germany General Truscott's orientation program is starting to roll . . . But it turns out to be the same old story; the aims are well thought up, but technique is the deciding factor: the problem of presentation and qualified personnel to lecture. Lastly, the G.I.'s attitude toward politics is appalling—fearful—it actually scares me. The constant queston that haunts me, "Is he following his Dad's footsteps after 1918—that led to World War II?"

Germany is just interested in Germany! Praying for the allies to fight amongst themselves, Germans are subtly spreading dissent among American G.I.'s against "Red Russia," "Uncultured France," "trustless, stab-in-the-back, two-faced England."

And what of the religion practiced here? Churches and cathedrals stand in grim defiance, often bomb torn. Isn't anyone interested in the type of sermons that thunder out in ancient churches in Germany? What are the Army Chaplains doing about it?

Churches are filled to capacity on Sunday morning! What do they think about as they see an American soldier taking a fraulein walking, or carousing on a street corner, or drunk on his back, or wandering through rubble heaps taking pictures?

I don't know myself, but one senses indignation, hate, self-pity,—all hidden at first, but when you've been staring or have been stared at by German civilians you see right through that veil of friendliness.

LEON R. COHEN

APO-360, c/o PM., N. Y.

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BOOKS

The Ideological Fight in Japan

SHINTO—The Unconquered Enemy.
Robert O. Ballou. The Viking Press. 207 pages. $2.75

Robert Ballou rightly calls Shinto the unconquered enemy, since it is "Japan's doctrine of racial superiority and world conquest." He emphasizes that we were not merely fighting Japan's armed might but "an ideological force which was more than a thousand years old when Pan-Germanism was born." Furthermore, Shinto has behind it "the strength of an ancient and undying religious reverence."

Although MacArthur's legions today direct the life of Japan, Mr. Ballou questions how successfully the United Nations can push the objectives of the Potsdam Declaration until Shinto, with its everlasting reiteration of "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal," is unscrambled by the Japanese people with our thoughtful help.

In Japan gendarmes and "thought police" rammed the state doctrines down the throats of the people as a religion. Not only were they compelled to accept this artificially-inspired nationalism, but worse yet, the man in the field and in the street was forbidden by law and state religious practice to refute them.

"State Shinto," says Mr. Ballou, "must be approached not as a religion, but as a political creed which is an enemy of civilization, with the same intelligent and righteous intolerance and angry resolve to exterminate it as that which marked the ideological strength of the democratic nations' union against Nazism."

And Mr. Ballou has a plan for this difficult but necessary operation. He would have the United Nations turn Japan's own weapons to our ends. "In Japan," he says, "the devil has quoted scriptures to suit his purposes. The same scriptures—the sacred authorities which the Japanese have recognized for over a thousand years—can be quoted in at least equal length and with equal positiveness to controvert the doctrines of international evil which have been built on Shinto texts."

In Mr. Ballou's strategy to uproot State Shinto, those charged with the task should study all Shinto literature from the early 8th century, when the basic books, the Kojiki and the Nihonji, were written, down to the present moment. Thereupon, efforts should be made to enlist the support of the Shinto sects, unified by the strength of the ancient religion, as a base upon which to build new interpretations. Therein the official doctrine of *hakko ichi-u,* or the world under one Japanese roof, namely the emperor, may be replaced by an enlightened universalism such as is represented in the ethical beliefs of Christianity and other world "goodwill" religions. In Sectarian Shinto, Mr. Ballou finds such decent precepts "faintly enunciated."

This book can well serve as a manual not only for the United Nations officials guiding Japan, but for those of us who must first devise and then back the policies laid down for them. Mr. Ballou in 207 pages presents the complicated story of Japan's religious—literary—political march from alleged beginnings in 660 B.C. (more rationally about the time of Christ) to these topsy-turvy days when the sacred Son of Heaven bows to General MacArthur. The second half of the book is devoted to well-chosen selections from the Kojiki and the Nihonji; through the writings of the times from 925 A.D. to 1700 when outside religious forces were making an imprint upon Shinto; on to the revival of Pure Shinto under the Shoguns; and then through the more radical years of the Restoration with the rise of modern militarism and aggression, right down to the current post-surrender months. He includes many pages of richly supported notes, and an extensive annotated bibliography. As a Shinto manual, this is indeed a well-planned work.

Mr. Ballou breaks Shinto into three branches—Popular, Sectarian and, that dangerous arm, State Shinto. It was in 1882, when Japan after the Restoration began laying the course which pointed to Pearl Harbor and subsequent abject surrender, that the warlords separated Shinto into state shrines with priests, paid by the government, and institutions of Sectarian Shinto, or churches, from which all official support was withdrawn.

Thus the common word, Shinto, today includes three divisions. First, there is Popular Shinto—a

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"Tough Realism"

"Tough realism" is Lewis Gannett's word for John Scott's new book on Europe. This is something that the world doesn't have enough of, especially on Europe.

What really happened to political Europe during the war years, what are the new forces there which are now shaping the world's destiny, what kind of men are directing these forces—John Scott answers this sort of question with information and with a point of view you cannot find anywhere else.

Europe, and particularly eastern Europe, has become the crossroad where Russia meets the West. It is this Europe which interests John Scott most and that he has fitted himself to understand. For twenty years he has been successively a Russian worker under the five-year plan building new industrial cities beyond the Urals, a Moscow correspondent, and during this war one of *Time's* observers in Stockholm, and now their correspondent in Berlin.

John Scott is a writer who treats his readers as equals. He offers no ready-made formulas, but he follows his facts—numerous and unusual ones—to conclusions so just that they seem jointly made with the reader.

Europe in Revolution

By JOHN SCOTT

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"composite of folk beliefs and practices." Each community has its shrines which are not part of the Sectarian and State forms. This is a folklore and not a religion, and has no unified church body. Second, there is Sectarian Shinto with approximately 17,000,000 adherents, composed of no less than thirteen sects, including borrowings from China in its two Confucian Sects. There is also Ryobu Shinto dating back to the priest, Kobo Daishi, who intertwined Indian Buddism and Shinto. Sectarian Shintoist holds regular church services with religious indoctrination, prayers, ritualistic observances, a certain amount of social welfare work, and publication of religious literature.

Lastly, there is State Shinto, established by law under the Home Ministry, with compulsory ritualistic practices by every Japanese. This, says Mr. Ballou, is "the most reactionary and most powerful doctrine of aggressive nationalism and conquest which has ever been forced upon any people—a doctrine which has exploited with almost inconceivable success the religious fervor of a nation."

The gist and moral of this exceedingly worthwhile book comes in Mr. Ballou's injunction to the United Nations not to forget the distinction between the various branches of Shinto in our regulation of defeated Japan now that we have won the opportunity to influence native thought.

"The government of Japan," he concludes, "has done the most thorough job of scrambling religion and political indoctrination in history. One of the most difficult—and necessary—tasks which now faces us is that of helping the Japanese people unscramble them."

JOHN GOETTE

Eisenhower—Man of Action

SOLDIER OF DEMOCRACY. A Biography of Dwight Eisenhower. By Kenneth S. Davis. Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1945, 566 pages $3.50

This is no "campaign biography" hastily thrown together to inform an inquisitive public of the career of some recently emerged aspirant to office. Mr. Davis has made a long and careful study of the life of General Eisenhower, from his boyhood days in Abilene, Kansas, to his triumphant return from the complete victory over the Nazi *Wehrmacht*. In addition to a mass of documentary material diligently explored, the author has had the advantage of intimate acquaintance with General Eisenhower, though he modestly allows us to know this only by a hint dropped here and there in the book. Again, he modestly disclaims anything like "definitiveness" for his work. He is portraying "a man in action," he says, and the portrait must be somewhat "blurred" therefor. But for all the disclaimer, it is hard to think that anything in the way of factual knowledge of Eisenhower's great career, of his psychological endowment and professional equipment, of his handling of the crises he had to meet and the persons he had to conciliate, could be added to Mr.

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Davis' portrayal. It is biography at its very best.

The first half of the book is devoted to Eisenhower's family heritage, his early life in Kansas, his career at West Point, and his "apprenticeship" in army camps and as a staff officer at his desk in Washington.

The supreme task came in the summer of 1942, when, to his surprise and gratification he was selected by the Chief of Staff General Marshall for the command of the European Theatre of Operations, with headquarters in London. The second half of Mr. Davis' book is devoted to General Eisenhower's supreme command, first of the "Torch" campaign in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, and then of the "Overlord" campaign which took the Allied armies from the beachheads of Normandy to Berlin. The two long chapters which detail these campaigns are not only a remarkable revelation of the skill and courage of the supreme commander and of his masterly handling of difficulties arising from the political or military ambitions of men like Giraud, Darlan, De Gaulle, Murphy, and sometimes even General Montgomery, but also a masterly description of the details of the campaigns, set in the contemporary framework of the general history of the fateful months of the destruction of Hitler's *Festung Europa*. Mr. Davis has given us an unforgettable portrait of a "Soldier of Democracy," whom the American people delight to honor as a soldier, like Bayard, "without fear and without reproach," and a democrat who never lost an iota of the simplicity, reasonableness, the affability, and the spiritual poise which he had inherited from the best traditions of the American way of life.

DAVID S. MUZZEY

Problem—Black or White?

BLACK METROPOLIS, a Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, with an introduction by Richard Wright. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. $5.

The authors of *Black Metropolis* quote W. E. B. Du Bois, the Negro scholar and race leader, as having remarked once that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line." Certainly this statement is only partly true in this era of the Atomic bomb, world-wide international frictions between white nations as well as white and colored, and class conflicts between underprivileged and privileged everywhere, but it certainly represents, as the authors aver, "a large element of truth." The so-called Negro problem, which might more truly be characterized as a white problem, surely exposes the pretensions of American democracy at their weakest point, revealing a sharp cleavage between the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Christian religion by which we claim to live and our practice of denying freedom and equality to a large segment of our fellow-Americans.

For this reason, any book that plunges to the

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By FLORENCE PETERSON
Director, Industrial Relations Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

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ERNEST HEMINGWAY

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CITY, ZONE, STATE.....

heart of the problem, as *Black Metropolis* does, is must reading for anyone who believes that social problems are soluble.

The book is a study of the highly segregated area of a little more than 10 square miles in which more than 300,000 Negroes are forced to live in the city of Chicago. The pattern of life there is similar to that in every Negro section of every city in the United States. This pattern is described by its Negro authors with complete understanding, based upon years of study and living among the people, yet with a realism unusual in books of this nature. The facts are all here, good and bad, pleasant and unpleasant. Although it is a scientific study of great objectivity and thoroughness, it is so well written that it holds the reader's attention like a novel.

There are fascinating chapters on "Crossing the Color-Line," "Black Workers and the New Unions," the race riot of 1919 and how plans were perfected during World War II to head off or control any similar riot that might break out today, "The Job Ceiling" which prevents Negroes from obtaining skilled and professional jobs and positions in the white business world, "The Power of Press and Pulpit," the "Negro in Politics," and "Advancing the Race."

An eloquent introduction by Richard Wright illuminates the key facets of the problem and praises the writers for their contribution in bringing to the attention of the white world the realities of Negro urban life. As Mr. Wright says, we must realize "that the Negro's present position in the United States results from the oppression of Negroes by white people, that the Negro's conduct, his personality, his culture, his entire life flow naturally and inevitably out of the conditions imposed upon him by white America."

ROLAND GIBSON

Good Will on Earth

A CATHOLIC LOOKS AT THE WORLD by Francis E. McMahon. Vanguard Press, New York, 1945 pp. 334, Price $2.75.

The good Catholic allows one thing to remain mysterious, and all other things then become clear—was one of the memorable paradoxes in Chesterton's "Orthodoxy." It comes to mind as one closes this valiant and wide-ranging book. Because it is primarily concerning the things that then become clear, that the author is elaborating. He makes no pretense of utterance on the level of mysticism and his discussion of theology is not extensive nor more than reiterative of familiar positions. Indeed the tone of the book is hardly ever horatory, didactic or sermonizing (unless it be in pointed asides of advice to his own church colleagues).

What we have here, rather, is basically a program volume. "The problems facing America and the world will never be solved unless the 'men of good will' join hands." "Recent Popes have been emphasizing the value—even the necessity—of all men of good will, whatever their religious beliefs,

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getting together to solve common problems. And it is on the theme of getting together to solve common problems that Professor McMahon makes his strongest contribution and really asks that his book be adjudged.

It is therefore from this point of view that men of good will should gladly applaud and agree that here is a social, economic and political program which in general terms will have the support of other workers for democracy with other or with no religious ties. Programs of action are the sensible grounds for cooperation among those confronted with identical problems. And with eminent good sense the author offers a basis for cooperation in a hearty fashion that commands respect and concurrence. At a moment in the world's history when social agreements are more vital to stress than metaphysical differences, this look at the world is praiseworthy. At certain points in the domestic economic program one is reminded of the forward-looking volumes of another Catholic, Michael O'Shaughnessy, who in his "Peace and Reconstruction" and "Economic Democracy and Private Enterprise" has also shown the Protestant world some of the implications of good Catholic doctrine and thus added further to the evidence that for many purposes of social action theological diversities can be kept subordinated to common social concerns.

Perhaps the most important lesson to bring away from this volume is that in *every* communion the real problem is the falling short of so many believers from the clear implications of their religious and moral mandate. Here is a discussion of those implications valuable for those of all religious faiths.

ORDWAY TEAD

NOTE: In the next issue of FREE WORLD John Latouche, writer, director and producer will review Marianne Oswald's excellent and dramatic autobiography, One Small Voice, published by Whittlesey House. McGraw-Hill.

Territorial Reorganization

THE REGIONS OF GERMANY, by Robert E. Dickinson. Oxford University Press. 175 *pp.* $3.50

The New York Public Library contains more than eighty books and pamphlets endeavoring to solve the burning problem of "How to treat the Germans." In a sense, the present volume belongs to this category of "How to" books, as it urges the Allied administrators of Germany to abolish certain anachronisms that contributed to the temporary victory of Nazism and may now jeopardize our own efforts to preserve the peace, if they are permitted to continue. Dr. Dickinson, reader in geography at the University of London, clamors, not for a dismemberment of the Reich, as has been done by others, but for a territorial reorganization of Germany: "The problem for the Germans is to permit the free development of the democratic spirit, if such we may call it, in the south and west, and to crush the unity of Prussia, and bring its component provinces to the

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same level of government and democratic consciousness as the southern states."

It is perfectly true that Prussia, with its 40 million inhabitants and 114,000 square miles exerted a strong, too strong, influence upon the other sixteen states of Germany, having altogether fewer than 30 million inhabitants and occupying a territory of less than 70,000 square miles. In the Kaiserreich, the comparatively loose federation of states was completely dominated by Prussia; after 1918, several proposals toward decentralization were made. They failed, and Berlin, the Prussian metropolis, was in control of the entire Republic. Under the Nazis, there was an even more marked trend toward centralization.

One should think that this trend toward unification ought to be welcomed as a healthy process. For while by the time of the Treaty of Westphalia, France and Great Britain had long been strong political units, domains of countless sovereign princes, dukes, electors, prince bishops and the like continued for centuries to cut up the map of Germany into a crazy patchwork. Hence, a centralized German monarchy, or republic would have constituted a notable step toward the unification of Europe, through the abolition of the medieval labyrinth of frontiers, had not one ambitious German power, Prussia, swallowed up most of the smaller states.

Professor Dickinson's condemnation of "the Prussian spirit of totalitarianism and autocratic control" sounds convincing. Still, his attempt to denounce Prussia as a sort of *bête noir*—a tendency he shares with many writers on German affairs—which crushed the democratic spirit of the other German lands, tends to overlook the fact that reaction was never confined to the realm of the Junkers. Both Metternich and Goebbels were Rhinelanders; Hitler was an Austrian; many of the war criminals now tried at Nuremberg are Southern Germans. Nazism thrived first in the South, while Berlin was the center of Socialism and Communism. In this era of the airplane, when a trip from Hamburg to Munich takes only a few hours, the mental differences between a Frisian and a Bavarian are certainly less marked than they were in the time of the mail-coach. The dangers arising from Prussian-baiting are great insofar as they may divert our attention from more real than the nebulous "racial" issues.

Nevertheless, it is true that Germany would rule herself more efficiently if she were subdivided into natural rather than political provinces, that is to say, into regions or geographical units, carved by topography, economic affinities and historical development. It is equally true that it might be advisable to establish the old provinces of Prussia as federal states in order to end the obnoxious dichotomy: Prussia—Other Germany. Altogether, Dr. Dickinson would divide Germany—i.e., the area that she occupied prior to the invasion of Austria—into eleven major natural provinces: Rhineland-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Rhine-Main, South-West, Bavaria, Central Germany, Nordmark, Pomerania, East Prussia, Brandenburg-Berlin, and Silesia; in addition, there should be two city-units: Hamburg and Bremen.

The bulk of the volume consists of a scholarly description of the geographical and economic set-up of the above-mentioned "regions". Twenty-nine maps, bibliography and index increase the practical value of this handbook that ought to be given to all members of the AMG. Incidentally, some of Dr. Dickinson's recommendations were anticipated by the Allies, for instance, when they created a sort of "Greater Hesse" and welded Wuerttemberg and Baden into one unit.

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Science for the millions

ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE COMING ERA, by David Dietz. Dodd, Mead and Co., New York. 1945. 184 *pp.* $2.00

One of the most prolific periods in modern American writing has been that of the interpretation of the medical and physical sciences for an insatiable public. This highly profitable period, for publishers and writers, was born with Lewis' Arrowsmith, grew to adolescence with the horse-and-buggy doctors' books of the thirties, and matured with the mathematics and physics popularizations of Hogben and Bell. At no time in this twenty-year history have so many books, pamphlets and articles deluged the market than since the pulverization of Hiro-

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shima. One begins to wonder whether there isn't a mathematical formula to explain the proportion of words to the intensity of an explosion.

David Dietz, long-time science editor of the Scripps-Howard chain and a consistent contributor to science popularization, has got himself on the bandwagon born of the Hiroshima bomb. His book is a small one. The body of it—Chapters 2 through 11—is explanatory of the basic concepts of the structure of matter and how these concepts, verified by experiments throughout an history of several hundred years, led to the terrible destruction unleashed on August 5, 1945. To anyone with a nodding knowledge of the history of science or of elementary physics, the body of this book suggests an hasty assembly. This impression is substantiated further to anyone who followed the War Department news release on the bomb, upon which several of the chapters are based almost in toto.

One can quarrel with Mr. Dietz on many counts. Such as his perpetuation (if printed words can suggest such a concept) of the popular notion that the atomic bomb brought World War II to a close —when as a matter of fact it is known that peace negotiations were well along before August 5th. Or his statement that the atomic era will arrive in ten to twenty-five years—which presupposes that heavy industry such as oil, coal, hydroelectric power (whose very existence is threatened by cheap and abundant power) will permit it. Or that the era of peace, synonymous with the e.a.e., is just around the same corner because there will be no "have-not" nations, future bombs will be too terrible to contemplate, etc.

Popular science writing is fun. It is also profitable —even in small packages. With this as evidence, I must point to a fallacy in the small package adage.

JOSEPH HIRSH

Reconstruction in the Middle East

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST, by A. Bonné, Oxford University Press, 164 *pages,* $4.00

This timely volume published in the "International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction" offers a detailed outline for a planned reconstruction of the Middle East. It is a good scholarly work, written with great inside knowledge, and packed with valuable data and information. The author, director of the Economic Research Institute, Jewish Agency for Palestine, is well qualified to undertake this important, yet difficult study.

In discussing the problems of Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordania, Palestine and Egypt, the book does not cover the whole Middle East. It leaves out Iran, Saudi Arabia and some other regions. Moreover Egypt, Iraq and Palestine are dealt with in much greater detail than other countries

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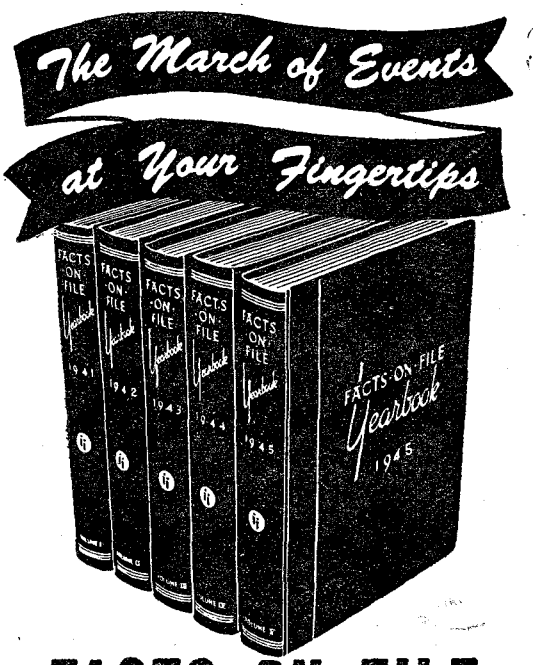

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under review. Relatively little is said about Turkey, particularly its economic development in the inter-war period.

The author outlines the common facts and trends in all countries in the discussed area. They are: An appalling poverty of the masses; backwardness in production, nutrition, housing, clothing, health provisions and education in general. In contrast, there is an extraordinary growth of population which exceeds greatly the rates of increase in most European countries. The average level of income in zones of predominantly agrarian structure is exceedingly low. Many detailed statistics supply the evidence of this situation.

The trend of population is similar to that of India—high birth as well as death rate with still substantial increase of population. Agriculture is being conducted on a very primitive level with a very low productivity per worker. The peasants suffer under the feudal system, paying high rents or becoming trapped in the sharecropping system. While the rates of interest are extremely high, there is no organized credit-market and a great lack of savings. The system of taxation is regressive and the distribution of wealth and income very unequal.

Industrialization has made no visible progress in any of these countries. However, the whole development in Palestine has followed a different pattern because of the Jewish immigration supported by a substantial influx of capital. A planned economic reconstruction would help to improve the economic and social conditions in the Middle East. The key for a regeneration of these countries lies in an increase of total production and productivity and the opening up of new resources. Mr. Bonné examines carefully the possibilities of agriculture, for improvement of the standard of living must begin with the peasant. The author sees various possibilities and recommends a reform of land tenure, reduction of rent on land and a policy of taxation for the benefit of the lower income groups. Hand in hand with these reforms should go raising productivity and extension of the cultivated area through large scale development projects, with special reference to irrigated farming.

Industrialization should become a definite state policy. State services on a large scale should be organized in the sphere of communications, education and health. The author makes several estimates showing the expected increase in income from agriculture and industry to be attained in 1962. And if the suggested projects was carried out, 30 million more people could live in the Middle East than are there at present.

The whole program is more than reconstruction. It is a program of general development—similar to what is going on in Palestine—which would call for modernization and "westernization" of these countries in all important aspects. It would, however, require fundamental changes in the approach of these Oriental nations to economic and social problems. The author merely touches upon this important question, stating that he believes neither the Western economic system nor that of the U.S.S.R. will be able to perform this profound transformation.

Time will be needed to carry out this reconstruction, and a relatively great amount of capital will be necessary.

The author does not examine foreign loans as an economic proposition. He touches lightly upon this problem, creating the impression that he would welcome some kind of international lend-lease.

The Middle East is only one of the backward areas of the world, where nations will demand a higher standard of living and international assistance in getting it. If we compare the areas able to provide such large scale assistance with the expected demand for it, we soon will realize that the task is by no means easy. The program for the Middle East is, for instance, not much different from a similar program for the Balkan countries and for some of the Latin American nations. The experiences obtained during the war should make the realization of such programs easier. Nevertheless this will be possible only in an international atmosphere of real cooperation in which proper consideration will be given to the economic and social motives and factors. Are we near such a promising situation?

In any case, Mr. Bonné deserves our full gratitude for presenting to the public the complex situation in the Middle East and outlining possibilities of improvement.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

HERBERT V. EVATT, Minister of External Affairs of Australia, and Attorney General, made a sensational entry into the world scene at the San Francisco Conference. Representing a small country, he succeeded within a few days in assuming practically the leadership of the small nations in the new world organization. His absolute devotion to the cause of the world organization, his tireless efforts toward the success of the conference, created unanimous sympathy for him not only among the smaller powers, but also among the larger ones in San Francisco.

After San Francisco Dr. Evatt went to London, where he was very active both in the United Nations Preparatory Commission and indirectly in the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Author of many books on legal problems, dynamic public speaker, and brilliant strategist, Dr. Evatt will undoubtedly be one of the leading figures in UNO. He is a member of the International Board of FREE WORLD, and his article is an exclusive contribution to the magazine.

☆

PROFESSOR MAX ASCOLI has just come back from an extended trip throughout Italy, France and England. In Italy Mr. Ascoli met with all the leaders of the Italian government and various Resistance movements. He studied particularly the re-establishment of the Artisan Industry. Dr. Ascoli is a professor at the New School for Social Research where he lectures on Economics and European Political Reconstruction.

☆

JEAN CHRETIEN is the pseudonym of one of the new generation of French Colonial Administrators, whose conception of France's relation to her overseas territories approaches Federal Union. He entered the Colonial Administration in 1939 when he was attached to the Department of Education to oversee the colonial students in France. At present Jean Chretien is on a mission in the United States.

☆

WILLIAM KELTY is assistant editor of *Newsweek Magazine,* specializing in foreign affairs. He spent considerable time in Australia making a special study of that country's foreign policy and was also newspaper and radio war correspondent in the Southwest Pacific.

☆

LT. BYRON BUCKERIDGE whose beautiful confession "What I Am Fighting For" appeared in November, 1944, has written for FREE WORLD his first impressions on returning home, the second part of which appears in the present issue. The first part was published in the October issue of FREE WORLD. Lt. Buckeridge's "Impressions" have aroused widespread response and Miss Charlotte Adams gave an inspired rendition of it over Station WQXR on Thanksgiving Day.

☆

RICHARD POSNER, whose interview with Orozco appears in this issue, is a former member of FREE WORLD's staff, who is now free-lancing. One of his short stories, *The Grave,* is scheduled to appear next spring in *The Accent Anthology of Literature.*

C. W. FOWLER, writer and editor at present Assistant Publicity Director of CIO. He has been in this position since 1937.

☆

Author of several books, contributor to English, American and Canadian publications, *LIONEL GELBER* has long studied Canada's role in the world family of nations. Returning to civilian life from service in the RCAF, Mr. Gelber is now examining the aspirations of post-war Canada.

☆

LYMAN C. WHITE has recently been released from the U. S. Navy, in which he served as a Naval Civil Affairs Officer in the Invasion of Normandy, as well as in the Historical Section in London. Before joining the Navy he was in the book business and had spent five years in college teaching. He is the author of *The Structure of Private International Organizations* which was the first systematic survey of the nature and organization of private international organizations.

☆

Among our reviewers we should like to call your attention to *DR. ORDWAY TEAD,* Chairman of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York; *JOHN GOETTE,* noted Far Eastern Correspondent; *DR. DAVID S. MUZZEY,* Professor Emeritus of Columbia University; *DR. ANTONIN BASCH,* distinguished Czech economist, now teaching at Columbia University.

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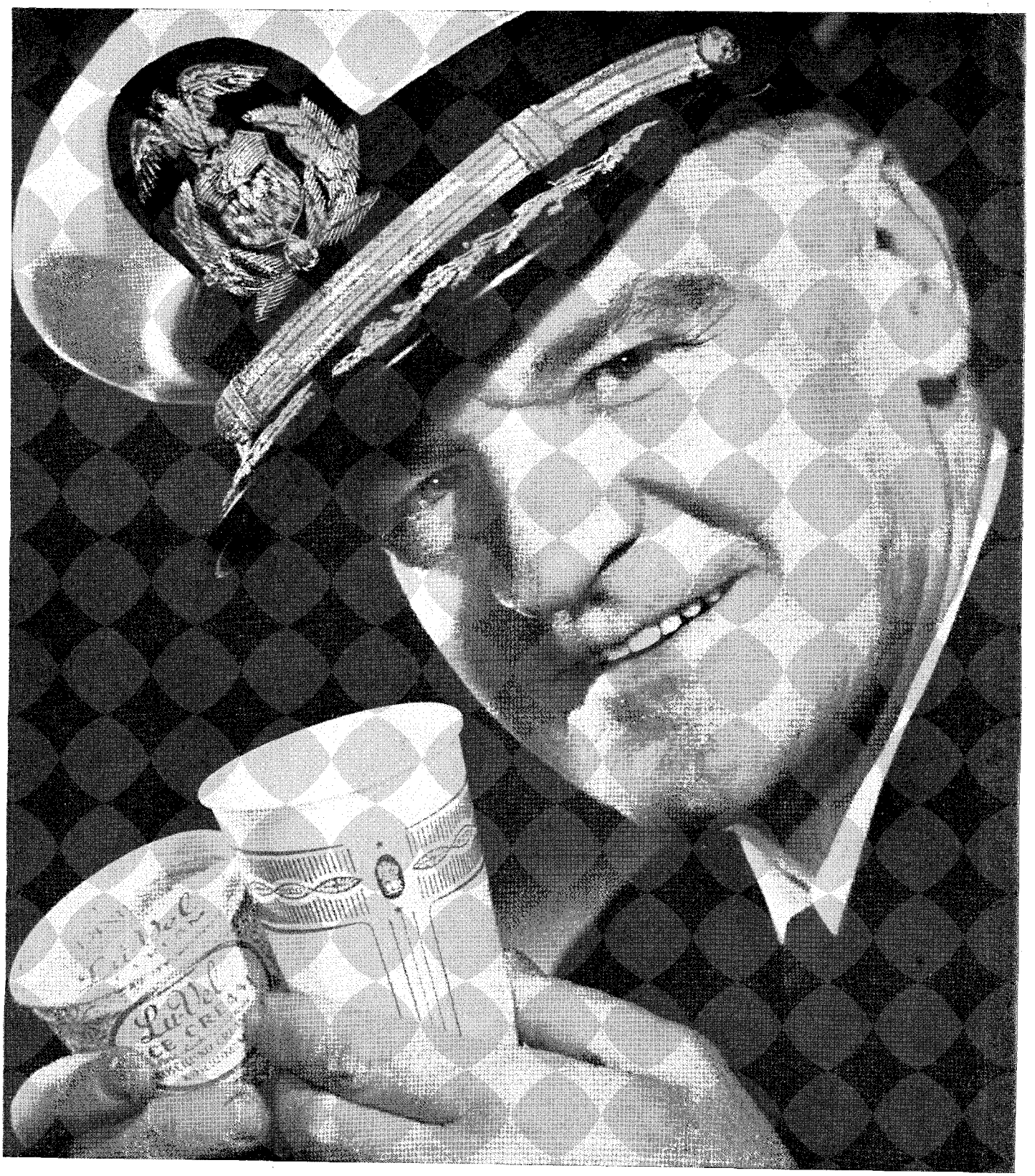

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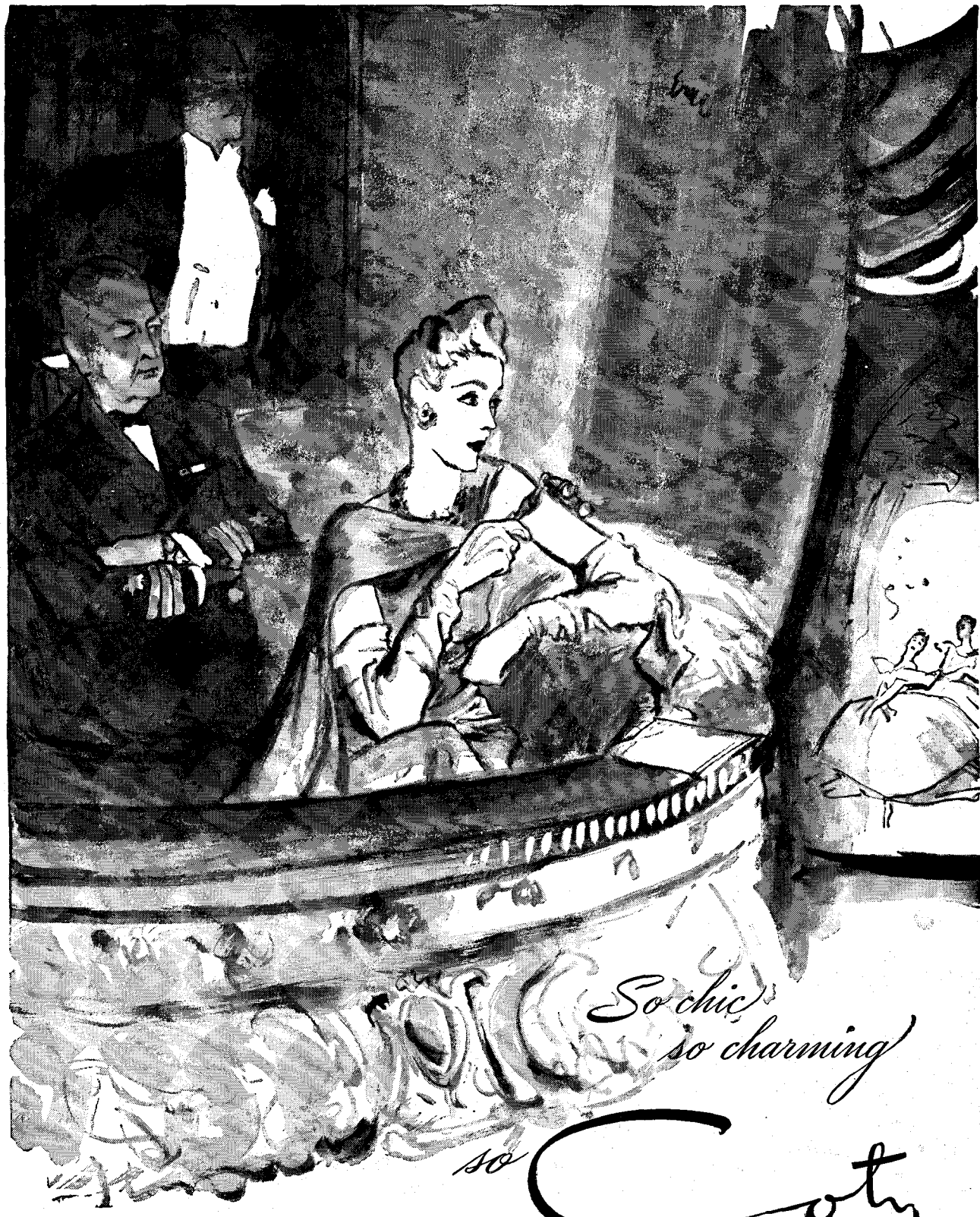

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